ANGLIA RUSKIN UNIVERSITY

CREATING SUCCESSFUL COMMUNITIES

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, MEDICINE AND SOCIAL CARE

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The research set to out examine how successful community is defined in policy, by community members themselves and the extent to which these perspectives align. Successful communities as aspired to in policy are described as 'places where people *want* to live' and which 'meet the needs of all its citizens'. The perspectives of community members who experience place-making efforts to create successful communities have largely been ignored in the literature, especially in new-build communities. This has led to an incomplete picture of how community is made and experienced by community members themselves, which this project has sought to address.

The study is based on a qualitative research design using semi-structured interviews. In-depth semi-structured interviews were carried out with 18 participants in two new-build communities in Cambridgeshire. Thematic analysis was employed in the coding and analysing of the data. Key themes emerged around expectations of communities, perceptions of place identity and reputation, and the notion of being a pioneer or a follower.

My findings conclude that participants experienced community building policies as a series of expectations, which were variously confirmed, disconfirmed or left in a state of ambiguity. Expectations related to the constituent parts of their community, only some of which needed to be confirmed in order to see their communities as successful, for example, services or shops did not arrive as expected, and maintaining perceptions of success. This suggests the way in which expectations work in the real world are more complex than has been suggested in the literature and there is a need for strategies to manage expectations.

Ideas of how to create and maintain community revealed different participatory activities by participants, not all of which fit with established modes of participation. In doing so, they move from being an (in)active follower to an involved place-ambassador. This suggests a reconceptualization of participation is needed.

Overall, my findings yield important insight into the ways in which community members experience community building policies and how they engage in place-making activities.

Key words: community; expectations; place-making; participation; qualitative research

1. Introduction

This study began with an interest in how to create a successful community. The research set to out examine how successful community is defined in policy, by community members themselves and the extent to which these perspectives align. In other words, the extent to which policy aspirations align with people's lived experience. Employing a qualitative research design, this study conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with community members in two 'new' communities in Cambridgeshire to examine these questions.

The literature suggests that the views of community members themselves in how they make community has been neglected (Wallace 2010), leading to a lack of understanding of community and its practical enactment (Little 2002). Little, writing in 2002, acknowledged that it is necessary sometimes to 'manufacture' communities and direct policies toward the creation of spaces for them to flourish. These activities may be understood as 'place-making'. He noted, however, that in order to do this, the links between a theory of community and its practical enactment must be better understood and gaps bridged (2002 pg. 7-8). Such an endeavour must have foundations in the realities of the modern world Little 2002 pg. 201); in other words, in the lived experiences of those who inhabit the modern world. My research addresses the gaps highlighted by Little by examining community building policies in relation to their implementation and how these are experienced by people in the reality of their everyday lives. More recently, Wallace (2010) too draws attention to the importance of a better understanding of how communities are "made, defended and negotiated by residents", arguing that policy has circumscribed local voices (Wallace 2010 p. 806). Thus, my research contributes to developing understanding of how community members themselves conceive and 'make' community by obtaining the views of residents within communities. The focus on 'new' communities addresses a gap in the research which has tended to focus on places undergoing regeneration, so communities being *remade,* rather than creating communities anew (see for example Coaffe 2004; Wallace 2010; Doering 2014; Lewis 2016). As such, my research contributes to debates on the theorising of community and to policy developments aimed at community building.

The catalyst for this research was the amount of planned growth in the Cambridgeshire sub-region over the next 20 years. The South-East of England, and Cambridgeshire specifically, were identified as key growth areas in the Sustainable Communities Plan in 2003 (ODPM 2003). Primarily focused on housing, the Sustainable Communities Plan was said to represent a "step-change" in the way housing was delivered and, in addressing housing demand, promised to provide more affordable housing as well as assist people to become home-owners (ODPM 2003 p. 30). However, the Sustainable Communities Plan was about more than housing. It also sought to provide "better places" and "raise the quality of life" in communities, recognising that "communities are more than just housing" (ODPM 2003 p. 5). This focus on whole communities was further reflected in the follow-up Sustainable Communities Plan (*People, Places, Prosperity* 2005) which recognised that there was a need for more than just houses because "people live in neighbourhoods, not just houses" (ODPM p. 2). A key strategy in the policy was an aim to give local people more influence and increase involvement so that people could "shape the places where they live" (ODPM 2005 p. 2).

The Sustainable Communities Plan aim of creating successful communities defined them as;

> Places where people want to live and work, now and in the future.
>
> Sustainable communities are places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all. (ODPM 2005 p. 56)

From this definition eight components were developed which reflect economic, social and environmental objectives and form a blueprint from which successful communities can be created. These components included attention to the built environment, housing and community facilities. From this plan residents could expect, among other things, viable and attractive town centres, a range of public, private and community services, opportunities for cultural, leisure and community activities, a sufficient range and mix of housing and access to jobs and education, served by good public transport links (ODPM 2005). These communities would be led by representative and accountable governance systems which would involve

and engage the local community which would generate a sense of civic values, responsibility and pride. These communities would have a sense of place, community identity and engender a sense of belonging (ODPM 2005 pp. 56-59). This represents the policy aspirations of a successful community and as conceptualised from the perspectives of policymakers. The Sustainable Communities Plan is problematic not least in the pursuance of economic, social and environmental objectives which are inherently contradictory, but also in a lack of clarity in how aims are defined and to be achieved. These criticisms are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

While policy may set out the vision of a successful community, it does not necessarily follow that this is how community members will define it or experience the policy in this way or indeed that the policy will achieve its goals. This study finds that community members experience community building policies as a series of expectations, which may be fully met, partially met or not met. Expectations formed in relation to constituent parts of the community as a whole, only some of which needed to be met in order to see the community as successful. Different forms of information and previous experiences are used manage expectations. Evaluations of the success of the community were done so *overall,* meaning there could be dissatisfaction with some elements of the community, but members still see it as successful in its entirety. Expectations of a successful community in this study refer to provision of a range of retail and community facilities, typical of the traditional high street, which meet the needs of community members, and places for social interaction, and in which community members expect to see themselves reflected. Community members' experience of leadership and partnership working reveals a lack of clarity of roles, lack of visibility and a disconnection with the reality of community members' experiences. This contrasts with parish councillors' views who saw themselves as pro-active and effective. Participation of the local community underpins many of the aims of community building policies and place-making activities. This study finds that the way in which participation is conceptualised, impacts on who is perceived as participating. Participation takes place in both formal and informal activities, online and in real life, changing as the community develops and as people's circumstances change. This study contributes to developing knowledge and understanding of how community members experience policies to create communities and how they conceive of successful communities. The findings of this study have implications for policy, which are

discussed in Chapters 9 and 10. Discussion now moves on to the context in which this research takes place and introduces the research sites.

1.1. Research Context

The Sustainable Communities Plan remained the key policy driver until the introduction of the National Planning Policy Framework in 2012. During this time plans for development continued in the Cambridgeshire sub-region with identification of several sites for development. A high need for housing across the Cambridgeshire region has been identified in previous and current development plans from Cambridge City Council (CCC 2018p. 7) and South Cambridgeshire District Council (SCDC p. 149). Growth plans include several new build communities, ether as wholly contained new settlements and towns or urban extensions (for example Northstowe, Waterbeach New Town, Trumpington Meadows, Clay Farm, Eddington, Cambourne West) (SCDC 2018). These new settlements aim to provide over 35,000 homes (CCC 2018). The table below illustrates the distribution of housing provision, which comprise large urban extensions and new settlements;

	Structure Plan 1999 to 2016	%	New Local Plan Strategy 2011 to 2031 (both areas)	%
Cambridge Urban Area	8,900 homes	27	6,828 homes	19
Cambridge Fringe Sites	8,000 homes	25	12,670 homes	35
New settlements	6,000 homes	18	8,055 homes	23
Villages	9,600 homes	30	8,220 homes	23
TOTAL 1999 to 2016	32,500 homes	100	35,773 homes	100

Table 1. Source: Cambridgeshire Housing Growth Cambridge City Council 2018 p. 23

Each of these developments aim to provide not only housing, but whole communities. The research sites for this study comprise two such places, although each are at different stages of their development to one another. The profiles of the

research locations are now discussed, followed by an outline of the structure of the thesis.

1.2. Profiles of Research Locations and Rationale

The locations in which to recruit participants were chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, although not primarily, the locations were of intrinsic interest and in close geographical proximity. While matters of convenience should not be the primary reason for research, it is necessary to ensure that any research endeavour is possible and feasible (Denscombe 2012). Secondly, existing contacts in both locations could act as gatekeepers and suggest further potential participants. Thirdly, both locations have experienced their status as both 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' by various sources.

Orchard Park is cited as 'successful' by Falk and Carly (2012) who recommend it as an example of good practice to follow for other new developments. They refer to Orchard Park as a "strong new community" praise the partnership working in realising the masterplan, the cycle networks and the use of a public art project to facilitate community engagement and give Orchard Park a distinctive identity (2012 pp. 23, 30, 44). In a publication which charts the success of the art project, and the use of public art in place-making more generally, praises the way in which people have "actively built a community" and from which character, identity and sense of location would follow (Bennett 2009). These views, and the perception of Orchard Park as a successful community were challenged by other sources. For example, local and national media reports of Orchard Park characterise it as 'Beirut', and as rife with crime (Greer 2009; Brown 2017; Savva 2017). A Scrutiny Report (2008) identified both successes and shortcomings of Orchard Park. For example, the report praised the effectiveness of the S106 negotiations, but lamented the lack of enforcement and delays of provision, such as the community centre. These delays were said to impact the cohesiveness of Orchard Park and lead to 'new town blues' and a lack of community identity (SCDC 2008 pp.5-8). Although the Orchard Park Community Council was established early in the development, there lacked a single point of contact on where to obtain information about progress and delays (2008 pp. 11-13).

Cambourne reveals similar experiences. Media reports have described Cambourne as 'Crimebourne' and 'ToyTown' (Paige 2008; Harris 2013). A report which seeks

lessons from Cambourne, like those for Orchard Park, identifies successes and shortcomings. Cambourne is celebrated for its ecology, woodlands and green spaces (Platt 2007 p. 29). Indeed, Cambourne won an award for Local Landscape Design (Landscape Institute 2010). On achieving its vision of "a place in the country with urban amenities" where "families could enjoy the best of both worlds", Platt asserts this has been achieved (2007 p. 5). Cambourne is criticised for its lack of connection and integration with the surrounding villages. When the report was written, Cambourne lacked a church and pub, the high street was incomplete and provision of the community centre was delayed by 18 months (Platt 2007 p. 46). Cambourne is criticised for the clustering of blocks of social housing, which are not integrated with the rest of the development (Platt 2007 p. 23).

The mixed fortunes and perceptions of Cambourne and Orchard Park as both 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' offered potentially fruitful locations from which to examine community members ideas of a 'successful' community. The characteristics and details of Orchard Park and Cambourne are briefly described in the following section.

1.2.1. Orchard Park

Orchard Park, originally called Arbury Park (Arbury Camp in its first musings), is located to the north of Cambridge city adjacent to the A14. Planning permission was granted in 2005 for a sustainable housing-led mixed-use development of 900 dwellings. Orchard Comprises four distinct character areas referred to as the Park, the Circus, the Square and the Hedges (SCDC 2011 p. 8). The development began in 2006 was led by Gallagher Estates, with the masterplan designed by John Thompson and Partners and comprised the following housebuilders; Persimmon Homes, Taylor Wimpey (including Taylor Wimpey South Midlands, Taylor Wimpey East Anglia and Laing Homes), and Martin Grant Homes, and the RSLs are Bedfordshire Pilgrims Housing Association (BPHA), Places 4 People, and the Papworth Trust who build housing for people with disabilities. A third of the housing (300 units) is affordable housing (SCDC 2010).

Orchard Park has one primary school, which opened in 2007 and a community centre. There are small green spaces located throughout the development and one large green space adjacent to the school. There are two hotels located in Orchard

Park which sit either side of a small retail complex. The retail complex contains one convenience shop, two takeaways, a charity shop, barbers and an estate agents.

A self-build cohousing development is located on the east parcel of Orchard Park, with construction completed in 2019. The council appointed joint developers TOWN and Trvselhus to design, plan and deliver the project. K1 Housing, Marmalade Lane, comprises 42 homes and shared community facilities, which includes a playroom, guest bedrooms, laundry facilities, meeting rooms, and a double height 'Great Hall' for shared meals and parties (Marmalade Lane [online]; Papworth 2019).

1.2.2. Cambourne

Cambourne, originally called Monkfield Park, is located approximately 9 miles to the west of Cambridge, south of the A428. Planning consent was granted in 1996 for 3300 homes, with permission for a further 950 homes granted in 2011, approximately 30% of which are affordable housing (SCDC 2004; SCDC 2018). Cambourne was planned as a new settlement comprised initially of three interlinking villages, Great, Upper and Lower. The additional 950 homes comprise a new village in Cambourne, Cambourne West (SCDC 2018 p. 78).

Cambourne became a separate parish in 2004 and in March 2019 became a town (SCDC 2019 [online]). Cambourne has four primary schools, a secondary school, a range of sporting facilities, a community centre and large expanses of public open spaces. Cambourne Village College opened in 2013 and gained one cohort of students per year until 2017. The school has 1120 pupils and is seeking to offer Sixth Form provision (Cambourne Village College [online].

Great Cambourne contains a business park, a main retail centre comprising a large supermarket, two large 'bargain' stores and a large pet supply store. There is a selection of takeaways, a café, estate agents and financial services located on the high street. Upper and Lower each have one small supermarket in addition the main facilities in Great Cambourne. There are a range of other services in Cambourne such as a library, church, GP surgery, dentist and vets.

That concludes the description of the research locations. The structure of the thesis will now be explained.

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis contains ten chapters, including this introduction. This first chapter introduces the study, explaining the focus of the research and the context in which it takes place. Gaps in the literature are identified which provide the rationale for my study, followed by a brief outline of the key findings. The rationale for the choice of research locations is explained. These include the proximity of the locations, access to gatekeepers who could recommend further participants and the mixed fortunes of both locations. Each location has experienced status as both 'successful' and 'unsuccessful', making them fruitful areas from which to recruit participants to examine community members' ideas of successful communities and how they experience community building policies. Details on the development of each location is provided.

Chapter 2, *The Rise of Place and Community,* introduces the concepts of place and community and examines the ways in which they have been conceptualised. Studies of community and place have long been of interest, often in response to the consequences of their perceived demise in the context of social changes. Early studies of community focused on a conception of community as one based on face-to-face interactions within a geographically bounded locality, which enabled particular types of belonging. Relph (1976) coined the term "placelessness" to capture concerns about the mass production of places with no distinct identity which would fail to enable a sense of belonging, amid increasing urbanisation. This chapter discusses the ways in which these debates have shaped thinking about place and community and their continued relevance in the implication of each other. Chapter 3, *Positioning Community-Building,* builds on the discussion of place and community in Chapter 2, and introduces place-making as a concept and practice. Place-making integrates the physical, social and political aspects of communities and in general refers to the way places are "made, transformed and perceived or framed" (Aref 2014 cited in Fincher et al 2016 p. 520). Strategies of place-making are discussed and evaluated for their application in creating successful communities.

Chapters 4, *Defining Success: Policy Aspirations* and 5. *Achieving Success,* are structured around the theme of success. Chapter 4 examines how success is defined in the context of community building policies. The New Towns Programme and the Sustainable Communities Plan are introduced as policy aspirations of successful communities. The details in these policies represent definitions of what

a successful community should be from the perspective of policymakers. The New Towns Programme was hailed as a success at the time of its implementation, seen as a successful endeavour of a social experiment in urban planning. However, many were later deemed unsuccessful, blamed on an inability to adapt to changes and a lack of community involvement in their creation and maintenance longer term. The New Towns Programme was looked to for lessons in developing the Sustainable Communities Plan. The Sustainable Communities Plan claimed to represent a "step change" in the way housing was delivered and the way that new communities were planned. The plan claims to embody the principles of sustainable development and creates places where people want to live and work. The extent to which the Sustainable Communities Plan has been successful is questioned and a critique provided. Chapter 5 builds on the discussion of the previous chapter and looks at the role of participation in achieving success. Participation of local communities underpins many of the aims in the community building policies. This chapter looks at the nature of opportunities for participation that are provided in practice and offers a critique of these.

Chapter 6, *Expectations of Success,* examines the idea of expectations as a key theme which was developed during data analysis and did not feature in the initial literature review. Therefore this chapter introduces this literature and discusses the way in which it was used in developing, analysing and interpreting one of the data analysis chapters. As the analysis progressed it became necessary to engage with this new literature. The expectations literature originated in consumer satisfaction research but has recently been employed in public services research, although much less widely than compared to consumer research. The expectations literature has not been applied in the context of creating new communities, which represents a hybrid of public and private/commercial services. The use of the expectations literature in this research is a new application and therefore makes new links to the literature on place-making and community. This body of research is explained in detail and how it aided my analysis.

Chapter 7, *Methodology,* introduces the research questions arising from the literature review chapters. The overall research design, as well as the research methods used, ethics, sampling and how the analysis was carried out are discussed. The study employs a qualitative research design. The research is based on in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 18 participants drawn from the research locations. Analysis was carried out following Braun and Clarke's (2013) thematic analysis. Concerns of validity and other quality criteria are discussed in

terms appropriate to qualitative research, such as transferability and credibility. The chapter finishes with a discussion of how the analysis were developed.

My *Findings and Analysis* are presented across Chapters 8, 9 and 10, each comprising one of the three main themes, within which, each has a number of subthemes. The analysis themes are *Perceptions of Place, Expectations of Community* and *Pioneers and Followers.* Each data analysis theme was developed from the ways in which the participants discussed their views of their communities. The participants' discussions were focused on what they expected their communities to contain, the reputations and boundaries of their communities and what they, and others did in their communities to contribute to its creation and maintenance. The analysis is integrated with discussion. The *Synthesis and Discussion* in Chapter 11 brings the key themes together from the preceding analysis chapter and locates the discussion within the theoretical underpinnings of my research. The chapter concludes by identifying implications for policy.

Chapter 12, *Conclusion,* discusses my overall conclusions and revisits the research questions to demonstrate achievement of the study's aims. Recommendations for policy are made and the strengths and limitations of the research are identified. This study makes several contributions to knowledge. These are discussed in detail in the conclusion. Finally, suggestions for further research are made.

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2. The Rise of Place and Community

> It takes a place to create a community and a community to create a place. (PPS 2018).

2.1. Introduction

The above quote reflects a concern with how to achieve both place and community in contemporary societies. Each are implicated in the creation of the other. Such concerns are not new but reflect a long-standing interest in the concepts of community and place, particularly of their perceived demise in the context of social changes. Early studies of community focused on a conception of community as one based on face-to-face interactions within a geographically bounded locality, which enabled particular types of belonging. Similarly, concerns about the development of places without distinct identities with which people could identify, and belong; termed “placelessness”; grew amid increasing standardisation of place designs (Relph 1976). The continued relevance of ‘place’ in the formation of community has been debated in the context of increasing mobility and the impact of the processes of globalisation, as well as the construction of different types of communities and places, enabled by these processes. This section discusses the ways in which these debates have shaped thinking about place and community.

2.2. Gesellschaft and Gemeinschaft

Ferdinand Tönnies, often cited as the founding father of the concept of community (cited in Bell and Newby 1974), writing in 1887 during a time of increasing industrialisation, urbanisation and great social change, introduced the concepts of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* as a community-society dichotomy. Tönnies used the terms Gemeinshcaft (community) and Geselleschaft (society) to describe changes in the nature of social relations. The term gemeinschaft (community) represented social relations characterised by kinship ties and friendship. Within gemeinschaft, Tonnies notes a homogenous culture, a lack of social and physical mobility, but with a sense of cooperation and solidarity engendered by enduring loyalties to people, place and shared values (cited in Bell and Newby 1974 p. 7). Gemeinschaft encompassed a local community but also religion, work, family and

culture, characterised by emotional cohesion, continuity and fullness (Bell and Newby 1974 p. 7). Tönnies' depiction of community or gemeinschaft, was a relatively localised bounded place in which social relations were based upon face-to-face interactions and represented a "lasting and genuine form of living together" (cited in Bell and Newby 1974 p. 8).

In contrast, gesellshcaft features relations characterised by impersonal and contractual ties on a large scale, underpinned by a rationality inherent to western capitalism emerging at the time. Tönnies described gesellschaft as comprised of "natural and artificial individuals" who had relations with and to one another, but who remain "independent of one another and devoid of mutual familiar relationships". Gesellschaft is a place where "all rights and duties can be reduced to mere value […] and ability to deliver" thus characterised by exchange and competition and relations which are unreal (cited in Bell and Newby 1974 p. 11). Gemeinschaft is where one can form emotional attachments and gesellschaft is where one experiences alienation. Tönnies was proposing then that there is a *right* type of community to which one should be a member in order to experience belonging, the absence of which would engender feelings of alienation.

2.3. Community Studies

The concerns of the impact of industrialisation and urbanisation on social relations and belonging, framed the subsequent community studies in Britain. Crow and Allan noted three phases of community studies in Britain, the first of which researchers found difficulty in operationalising Tönnies' concept of *gemeinschaft* in the context of modern societies (1994 pp.13-14). Indeed, attempts to clearly define 'community' at this time were fraught with difficulty, as indicated by Hillery's (1955) identification of 94 definitions, among which he found little agreement (cited in Bell and Newby 1971 p. 27). Bell and Newby noted that many of the definitions included social interaction, area and common ties (Bell and Newby 1971 p. 29). This tended to be the conceptualisation used in the community of the time. The first phase of community studies in Britain throughout the 1950 and 1960s sought to produce an "account of everyday community life" which featured detailed descriptions of "family, kinship networks, local work patterns, political and religious attachments and voluntary associations" (Crow and Allan 1994 p. 13). These studies included working-class communities in urban areas, such as Young and Wilmott's *Family and Kinship in East London* (1957) and rural communities and villages, such as those in

Bell and Newby's collection of community studies (1971, 1974). While these studies were framed by concerns about the loss of community in the context of increasing urbanisation, research revealed relatively stable close-knit communities in urban areas (Day 2006 p. 101; Blackshaw 2010 p. 62). The discovery of community in places it was thought to be lost, represented a lack of connection between empirical work and theoretical aspect (Elias 1974 cited in Crow and Allan 1994 p. 14) and for some, rendered the concept of community as analytically inadequate (Allan and Phillipson 2008 p. 164). The community studies of this "old tradition" were roundly criticised for presenting "impressionistic" accounts (Allan and Phillipson 2008 p. 164) which glossed over material hardships (Crow and Allan 1994 p. 24), and conflict (Blackshaw 2010 p. 63) and neglected gender relations (Lawrence 2016 p. 269). While the community studies themselves endured criticisms, Taylor describes wider context of the 1960s as a period of optimism for 'community' (Taylor 2011 p. 9).

The concerns about the usefulness of the concept of community for "serious sociological analysis" by Stacey (1969 cited in Bell and Newby 1974 p. 13) helped herald in a second and more reflective phase of community studies which addressed the theoretical concerns more fully (Blackshaw 2010 p. 63). Crow and Allan note that although little empirical community research was undertaken during the decade of the 1970s, the concept of community continued to receive critical attention increasingly in relation to capital and class inequalities (1994 p. 15). Thus, the term 'community' or 'gemeinschaft' was no longer appropriate in the context of society at that time and was said to merely serve to obscure inequalities and manage local people (Cockburn 1977; Ferris 1985 cited in Crow and Allan 1994 p. 15). Such a view was cemented by the findings of the Community Development Projects. Initially established as locality based "experiments" to address poverty in working class communities through promoting 'self-help', the research from the projects identified structural causes of poverty, not peoples' apathy (CDP 1977). Traditional notions of 'community', became seen as inadequate for understanding the ways in which people's commitments and solidarities altered as economic and social conditions changed, from which followed calls for analytical frameworks which gave less priority to place (Allan and Phillipson 2008 p. 164).

A network analysis approach was first introduced by Barnes (1954) but it was the later work of Bott (1957) which gained influence (cited in Crow and Allan 1994 p. 179). This saw an increase in the use of network analysis to examine informal relationships of kinship, friendship and patterns of social organisation not bound by

place or locality (Crow and Allan 1994; Allan and Phillipson 2008). This shift in focus was not to imply that place had no importance in community studies or people's lives, rather dislocating place from 'community' could bring an examination of the role of social relationships in solidarity and conflict, to the fore of analysis (Day 2006 p.65). Indeed, Granovetter's paper, *The Strength of Weak Ties* (1977) was a criticism of the work of the Chicago School (which heavily influenced the development of urban sociology and community studies), and the constraints of *gemeinschaft,* arguing instead that weak ties afforded individuals a greater range of opportunities in relation to the labour market, political participation and organisation and other social movements (cited in Granovetter 1983 pp. 202-204). The network approach to community was further developed by Wellman, who, rather than look for solidarities, focused instead on relationships and flows of activities to free the study of community from its "spatial predilections" (Wellman 1979 p. 1203). These social ties would be what Putnam later referred to as 'social capital' and afforded feelings of mutual trust and reciprocity, which could facilitate attachment and implied shared norms (Putnam 2000). There were limits to the network approach in community studies, such as a focus simply on the *existence* of ties, with little attention to the content of the ties or the nature of the solidarity they generate (Allan 2006 cited in Allan and Phillipson 2008 p. 165). Furthermore, the methods used to gather information, such as interviews or questionnaires, lost the contextual observations afforded by the ethnographical approaches of the earlier community studies (Allan and Phillipson 2008 p. 165).

Following the recession of the mid-1970s, a third phase of community studies during the 1980s and 1990s, saw a resurgence in the interest of community. This was in the context of industrial decline, accompanied by a shift in the relationships between the welfare institutions of the state and civil society (Crow and Allan 1994 p. 21). During this period 'community' was reconceptualised as 'self-help' and 'mutual aid', based on a new "interest community" in which members were linked by common bonds of shared experiences (Wilmott 1989 in Crow and Allan 1994 p. 21; Taylor 2011 p. 10). This formulation of community was of particular interest to policymakers who saw the emergence of self-help and mutual aid groups as a way to shift service delivery from the state to community organisations, through a range of community-oriented programmes and as a way of managing communities (Crow and Allen 1994 p. 155). Therefore, 'community' was recast simultaneously as a site of potential collective action and a target of policy intervention. Community as a site of potential collective action implies the existence of solidarity, cohesion and

reciprocity which can necessarily be translated into action. Taylor describes these as different dimensions of community, normative and instrumental, the former of which entails a presumption of shared values, the latter of which entails action (Taylor 2011). Taylor argues that the presence of the former does not guarantee the latter, although that is often the assumption made by policymakers wishing to engage communities (Taylor 2011 p. 50). As an orientation or target of policy, there is a designation of location and locality in terms such as care *in the community*, siting services *in a neighbourhood* or staff who work *in a locality* (emphasis added) (Taylor 2011 p. 50). These are situated in a *place.* While self-help and mutual aid groups are usually local in nature, their appeal to community as shared experiences or as interest community, suggest that spatial boundaries and locations in place, may be transcended.

2.4. Beyond Community (Studies)

The extension of 'community' to that of interest or shared experiences, speaks also to conceptions of community as identity. Hobsbawn notes the rise of identity groups, as the lexicon of community expanded but seemingly disappeared in reality;

> Never was the word 'community' used more indiscriminately and emptily than in the decades when communities in the sociological sense became hard to find in real life- the 'intelligence community', the 'public relations community', the 'gay community'. (Hobsbawn 1994 p. 428)

The alleged disappearance of community "in real life" made way for the rise of identity politics and identity as a way of belonging in the absence of community. As Jock Young notes, "just as community collapses, identity is created" (1999 p. 164). This points to ways of constructing identity-as-community-and-belonging, as both symbolic and imagined, both of which transcend notions of community as embedded in place. Cohen saw the decline of the geographical basis of community as affording its reassertion symbolically (1985). Thus, community is expressed through the construction of symbolic boundaries, brought together through shared symbols such as rituals, language, religion, all of which act as referents of identity (Cohen 1985). For Cohen, the sense of belonging to the symbolic comes not from its location in the social structure, rather it comes from the "thinking about it"; community inheres in the minds of its members (Cohen 1985 p. 98). Similarly, the notion of "imagined" community entails not a location in a place, rather an imagining

of fellow members and one's engagement in shared rituals. Anderson asserted that a sense of identity and belonging come from knowing that performing a certain ceremony "is being replicated simultaneously by others of whose existence he [sic] is confident but of whose identity has not the slightest notion" (1991 pg. 35). For both symbolic and imagined communities, place is no longer necessary for engendering feelings of belonging, and Phillipson and Thompson argue that even actual social interactions could be "de-coupled" (2008 p. 90). The notion of 'virtual' communities is one which further complicates the relationship between place, belonging and interaction. First developed by Rheingold (1993), virtual communities mirror many characteristics of 'real' communities (cited in Delanty 2003 p. 173). Virtual communities can engender a sense of belonging, solidarity and reciprocity, social interactions take place and they can facilitate action (Gruzd, Wellman and Tahkteyev 2011). While they are not embedded in place per se, they can have an orientation to place through integrating offline 'real' communities with online virtual communities (Matthews 2015; Breek and Hermes 2018).

The relationship between place and community was one which Relph (1976) believed was mutually reinforcing. He saw this relationship as undermined by the ways in which places were designed during periods of rapid urbanisation, which encouraged a standardisation of places (1976 p. 90). Relph argued that such standardisation left places bereft of distinctive identities with which people could identify, engendering a sense of 'placelessness'. While such places "function[s] adequately" they encouraged only "superficial and casual involvement" (1976 pp. 80, 126). Placelessness then, would only encourage what Relph termed "inauthentic" ways of belonging and a lack of attachment to place. Delanty notes the recent revival of community as connected to a crisis of belonging in its relation to place (2003 p. 195). Concerns about different ways of belonging emerge in the context of globalisation[1] debates, increased mobility and the perceived impact of these on place or 'the local' and social relations. While globalisation debates initially pointed to the likely obliteration of locality, Robertson says this has been misleading. (Robertson 1994 p. 32). Rather than see the effects of globalisation as obliterating the local, Savage *et al* (2005) argue a rethinking is required about notions of place and community, and the significance of these for social relations and belonging.

[1] Although definitions are contested, a broad definition is "The widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual" Held *et al* 200 p. 2

Therefore, it is not that place is no longer significant or relevant, instead there is a different orientation to place. Savage decries the globalisation theorists who "bemoan cultural homogenisation and the rise of 'placeless' urban living, where rich personal ties are eliminated" (2008 p. 150). While in his earlier research, Savage *et al* (2005) found feelings of community decline and a nostalgia for the "way things used to be" among some participants, they also noted an alternative narrative. The well-educated and affluent middle-class participants did not see their place as a "faceless global locale", but instead saw it as having a distinct "identity, meaning and 'aura'", with which they wanted to affiliate and to which they were attached (Savage 2008 p. 152).

Savage (2008) revisits data from the Mass-Observation Archive, including research from Brian Jackson and Ray Pahl, to reflect on contemporary forms of 'elective belonging'. Savage reveals complex strategies engaged in by the different social groups of established working-class locals, mobile middle-class cosmopolitans and incoming migrants, each of which related to the other, in some way, to establish their own belonging (2008 p. 157). For some of the mobile middle-classes, Savage found that there was little interest in the distinctive qualities of *the* place in which they were located, but an embrace of the generic qualities of *a* place, of the ideal village, suburb or town (2008 p. 157). Savage concludes that although there were forms of elective belonging among those in the earlier studies of Jackson and Pahl, these were based on a functional orientation to place, in which there was an indifference to the peculiarities of place and space, referring instead to "generic villages". Contemporary forms of elective belonging focus on the particularities of place, but distanced by the possibility of living elsewhere (Savage 2008 p. 161). Therefore, place is not undermined by the processes of globalisation and mobility, rather it is reconfigured in contemporary forms of belonging.

2.5. The Endurance of Community and Place

Community has been described as a "concept that just will not lie down" (Day and Murdoch 1993 p. 85 cited in Crow and Allan 1994 xv). Delanty (2003) notes an enduring nostalgia for the idea of community, seen as the source of security and belonging in an increasingly individualised and globalised world. Indeed, Kuecker, Mulligan and Nadarajah argue that is unsurprising that 'community' is turned to in times of crisis, reflecting an "unquenchable desire for a secure sense of belonging in

a changing world" (2011 p. 247). Such a view has endured with Hancock *et al* claiming that "community gets everywhere and seems to survive everything" (2012 p. 345).

The ubiquitous nature of community has not assisted in providing conceptual clarity, nor how it can be created. Little argues that given the ubiquity of community in policy, as a concept, it has been relatively undertheorised, leading to a gap between philosophical and practical understandings (Little 2002 p. 7). He argues for an understanding of community which accommodates the myriad of forms it may take (Little 2002 pp. 200-201). This is a view shared by Wallace who argues that insufficient attention has been given to the way community is made by people, leading to a lack of understanding (Wallace 2010 p. 806). Community is said to have a "high level of use but a low level of meaning" (Walmsley, 2006, p. 5 cited in Kuecker, Mulligan and Nadarajah 2011 p. 252). Indeed, Somerville argues that 'community' is a term that is "much used and much abused" and calls for an understanding of community that is viewed as a "state of being or existence" (2016 pp. 3-4). This view chimes with recent theorising on community which argues that community is not a 'thing' to join, rather it comes from "being-ness produced as an outcome of ongoing action in common" found in "every social encounter" (Studdert 2016 pp. 623 -625). Studdert implicates place in his discussion of sociality, which happens "chatting at the super-market or at work, at home or at the school gate." (2016 p. 624). Similarly, Wills argues that community is about the "social relationships that support life itself" and locates the development of social relationships in 'place' (Wills 2016 p. 646). Wills describes how community is created in the neighbourhood but is constantly undermined by geographical movement, echoing concerns of earlier studies about the impact of mobility on community and belonging (Wills 2016 p. 650). Lewis draws attention to the way in which place has a "renewed significance", particularly for working-class communities experiencing regeneration (2016 p. 914). Here place is implicated in the networks of relationships and expressed through shared narratives of place located in the past (2016 p. 920). These studies focus on a conception of community which emphasises relationships and networks, and position place as retaining a critical role in their development.

2.6. Summary

This chapter has discussed the rise of the concept of community and located this within key historical developments to illustrate their significance in framing debates

and research. Community has been conceptualised as forms of belonging, social networks and as variously located in 'place'. The enduring significance of place for community has been discussed and suggested that it remains important in considerations of community in providing the context in which social interactions occur. Discussions of community have been framed by concerns about the consequences of industrialisation, globalisation and increased mobility, which were thought to result in alienation and a lack of belonging. The discussion above also points to concerns about the consequences of not having the right kind of community. That is, one which can engender a sense of belonging, attachment and forms of solidarity. Such a community used to be one in which social relations were based on face-to-face interactions within a bounded geographical area. Notions of such communities have been challenged with the emergence of new forms of community, and in which place is reconfigured. These debates point to the interconnected nature of place and community, each of which come to the fore at different times and in different ways. In returning to the quote at the beginning of this chapter then, place and community remain implicated in the creation of one another, although in complex and changing ways. The next chapter discusses the ways in which place and community may be created through strategies of place-making.

3. Positioning Community Building- Place-making

3.1. Introduction

As indicated in the previous section, there is a long history of the study of community which spans many disciplines. My research draws upon the body of literature around place-making, which is itself multidisciplinary in nature. This chapter introduces the notion of place-making and discusses its development as a concept and a practice. Strategies of place-making are examined and the ways in which they can contribute to the creation of successful communities are identified. The idea of place-branding is introduced as an element of place-making. The role of place-branding as it contributes to the identity and reputation of a place is discussed, along with an examination of different approaches employed.

3.2. Place-making

Place-making refers broadly to the way places are "made, transformed and perceived or framed" (Aref 2014 cited in Fincher et al 2016 p. 520) and integrates the physical, social and political aspects of communities. Sepe and Pitt define placemaking, as "the art of making places for people" (2014 p. 216). They explain place-making as encompassing a wide range of features, such as how a place looks, matters of community safety, the nature and built fabric and the connections between people and places; in short, "the way places work" (Sepe and Pitt 2014 p. 216). As such, place-making literature brings together research on policy, planning and community development from disciplines such as cultural geography, sociology and the political sciences. The place-making literature brings together the different elements of community building. Place-making may be engaged in for the purposes of creating new communities, regenerating communities or rebranding communities (Madureira 2015). Rogerson *et al* (2010) refer to the discourse of place-making as a widening of the regeneration agenda during the 1980s in the UK and which later encapsulated the notion of 'sustainable communities' and the policies of such that followed. This notion of place-making in relation to the achievement of sustainable communities represented a more inclusive approach to creating places and to planning with the aim of improving "the quality of the public realm – the surrounding environment and community services that make an area more liveable" (Jones and

Evans 2008 in Rogerson et al 2010 p. 508). The initial focus of the sustainable communities agenda was on housing supply with further developments focused on greater community involvement in planning in developing a shared vision of what these communities would look like. The Sustainable Communities Plan (2003) became the blueprint for defining what a successful community would look like in the UK and in Europe. The notion of sustainable communities was taken forward in the Bristol Accord 2005, a European member states agreement on a common approach towards achieving sustainable communities, and incorporated into the Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities 2007. This notion of sustainable communities remains the point of departure for defining successful communities with place-making at its centre (Sofield 2017 p.2).

As a term, place-making has a relatively short history, coined in the US in the 70s as a critique of post-war, top-down modernist urban design which resulted in 'placelessness' (Relph 1976; Aravot 2002). It was primarily the work of Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte in the US which challenged the then dominant view of the primacy of buildings over people in urban design and planning. Their work provided the foundations on which contemporary ideas of place-making are built and engendered a shift in thinking/focus from the needs and desires of the planning professionals to the needs and desires of the people; "cities that catered to people, not just cars and shopping malls" (Sofield 2017 p. 3). The Project for Public Spaces (PPS), the longest running place-making organisation in the US, was founded during this time to take forward the work of Whyte and describe themselves as "central hub of the global place-making movement" (PPS 2018). They see place-making as a collaborative process which strengthens connections between people and the places they share, by focusing on the physical, cultural and social identities that define a place, in an approach which brings together notions of community and place as interdependent. They warn against use of the term as a branding exercise to denote activities that do not encapsulate these elements. Place-making which focuses on physical design alone or without the involvement of communities in defining their own priorities, is not true place-making (PPS).

In his disentangling of the concept of place-making (and its variant spellings – placemaking, place-making and place making), Lew attributes a longer history to the process or approach of place-making, back to the design of European capital cities during the Industrial Revolution and the later projects of The City Beautiful (US late 1800s), the Garden City movement (UK early 1900s) and the New Urbanism (US

late 1980s) (2017 p. 450). Lew categorised these approaches as a "top-down professional design effort to influence people's behaviour and shape their perceptions of a place" to "reshape identity, experience, and behaviour in urban settings" (2017 p.450). Lew contrasts the planned top-down professional approach with that of organic bottom-up place-making "whereby places are claimed and shaped through every day, and often mundane, social practices" and may be as simple as the naming of a place by its inhabitants (2017 p. 450). Lew locates different approaches to place-making on a continuum which ranges from organic bottom-up *place-making*, to co-created *place making* to top-down, master planned *placemaking,* the drivers of change for which each shift respectively from local groups to developers (2017 p. 251). Such a framework refers to the different actors involved at each point on the continuum and may determine the nature of their involvement or whose interests are prioritised. The terms top-down and bottom-up are widely used across different fields of study and are usually used to refer to activity that is either state-government driven or imposed (top-down) or activity that is driven locally (bottom-up) (Taylor 2011; Craig et al 2012). In policy implementation studies, the terms refer to the ways in which policy is developed and implemented and by whom. Studies of top-down implementation are usually associated with the seminal work of Pressman and Wildavsky (1973), who examined the complex relationship between what was laid down in official documents and what gets enacted at the implementation stage. Lipsky (1980) is seen as the 'founding father' of bottom-up perspectives of policy implementation studies with his examination of how the ways in which 'street level bureaucrats' or front-line staff, adapt to work pressures, environments and contexts, become the policy that is implemented (in Hill and Hupe 2011). Indeed, in the context of my research, the lack of alignment between policy aspiration and lived experience may be attributed to such adaptations of the street-level bureaucrats identified by Lipsky. Lew's categorisation or typology of top-down and bottom-up activities in relation to place-making, are consistent with other conceptions of these terms in related fields of study.

In developing his continuum, Lew attempts to associate different spellings of the term place-making with these top-down and bottom-up approaches, identifying *place-making* with bottom-up approaches, *placemaking* with top-down approaches and *place making* with a hybrid middle position. Lew's classification of these variant spellings seems misplaced or arbitrary as even he states that there was "no clearly discernible pattern that differentiated how each spelling was used" (2012 p. 449).

Such inconsistency negates this as a typology of meaning or usage in relation to these different spellings of the term. While it may be prudent to acknowledge the potential impact of variant spellings, if there is no pattern to their usage, there seems little point in imposing an artificial structure. Certainly, his suggestion of associating variant spellings with specific activities has not come to fruition in the current literature review nor has it been identified in the literature as a pressing concern. In the context of this literature review, the various spelling used by the authors will be maintained. Where no specific reference is being made to an author, the spelling of '*place-making*' will be used.

Balassiano and Maldonado (2014) refer to placemaking as "the empowering human act of putting an imprint on a place and becoming intimate with ones' surroundings" (p. 644). They use the terms 'lived' and 'facilitated' placemaking to distinguish between bottom-up and top-down placemaking. The bottom-up placemaking includes the activities engaged in on a daily basis by people in which they appropriate space for daily living through small, individual gestures and social relationships that attach meaning to space, such as the conversations that take place in a local store in which people find out about their community (p. 647). The top-down placemaking is that which can be facilitated by organisations or people with the authority to control a space, such as designers and architects, who do so through intentionally imposed improvements on the built environment to enhance well-being, safety and security, or such as the provision of services or activities designed to elicit residents' views on community improvements (Balassiano and Maldonado 2014 p. 648). Their research examined the degree to which placemaking happened, where and by whom in the context of a US locality which had experienced a large influx of migrant families (mostly Hispanic origin) in recent years. They found that the newcomers engaged in more lived placemaking, that is the placemaking that involved informal community conversations; while the established residents engaged more in facilitated placemaking, through the formalised participatory processes. Balassiano and Maldonado suggest that placemaking is not the sole responsibility of the newcomer nor achieved by facilitated opportunities alone, but can be achieved by relocating these opportunities to those spaces where lived placemaking happens (2014 p. 657). Those places, according to Balassiano and Maldonado, are likely to be those that are "widely accessible, accommodate various users, uses and events, are places where individuals engage in social relationships and allow for discussion on any topic" (2014 p. 657). In their research, these places were the schools, churches and parks

and recreation facilities. In relation to creating successful communities, this points to the importance of providing spaces to facilitate place-making activities and the need to recognise that people engage in place-making activities differently.

Sofield (2017) defines place-making as the "multi-faceted interventions for the planning, design and management of public places to improve the urban environment and the quality of life of communities" (p. 3). Like Lew (2017), Sofield (2017) sees place-making on a continuum of community involvement. At one end lies the top-down activity driven by planning professionals with manipulative and tokenistic community involvement and at the other end lies the bottom-up, community-led planning activities in which local communities are involved as "significant stakeholders" in urban design (2017 p. 3). Sofield refers to 'organic' place-making to describe the activity undertaken and driven by residents and does not confine this to activity occurring only in public places. He regards the activities of residents within their private space as place-making activities, such as front garden displays which relate to the history or industry of the location or house name plates which incorporate the place name (Sofield 2017 p. 15).

Both Lew and Sofield discuss the nature of place-making for the purpose of tourism, a rapidly expanding area of application for place-making. In light of this context, their research points to the importance of *marketing* or *branding* of a place in order make it more attractive and appealing to increase tourism. While my research is not aiming to increase tourism, this does warrant considerations around the reputation of a place, how attractive or appealing it appears to potential newcomers and how this is achieved as part of place-making. This relates directly to the policy aspiration within the Sustainable Communities Plan, which aims to create places "where people *want* to live" (emphasis added) (2003 p. 5).

3.3. Place-branding

Place-branding, referred to above, is an integral part of place-making and contributes to the construction of place identity and sense of place. Although place-branding has its roots in marketing and tourism, Van Assche, Beunen & Oliveira suggest that when integrated with spatial planning, place-branding moves beyond marketing and can contribute to community development (2020 p. 11). The main premises behind place branding, as explained by Sevin (2014 p. 48) are that when a place is named, several associated concepts are invoked in individuals' minds and

these associations can be manipulated to create a better brand for a place. Boisen *et al* (2018 p. 7) explain place-branding as a "conscious effort to sustain and/or improve the reputation of the place" from an inside-out approach in which selected narratives about the place are expressed. The aim of place-branding is to influence the perceptions and associations of a particular place. Kavaratzis and Kalandides assert that the use of place-making elements (materiality, practices, institutions and representations) to form mental associations with the place marks the beginning of the place brand formation process and change over time (2015 p. 1376). These associations contribute to the place identity and enable people to incorporate place into their own identity construction **(**Kavaratzis and Kalandides 2015 p. 1372). The identity of a place takes shape when similar perceptions are shared across a community and influence attitudes, define values, create meanings and decide the degree of their importance in the community's life (Aitken and Campelo 2011). Therefore, place-branding reflects more than how a place is marketed to 'consumers', rather the place-branding literature can be used to encapsulate how people negotiate place-branding strategies and how they incorporate their values into their visions of how their community should be. Aitken and Campelo (2011) assert that brand meanings are constantly co-created and re-presented by the community, reflecting the everyday experience of its constituents. Boisen *et al* (2018) suggest that place-branding has been successful when "people in general, and over longer periods of time, hold a favourable reputation of the place" (p. 7).

Braun *et al* 2013 say that a place brand is simply the good name or reputation of a place on offer to the public, which exists in the minds of the place consumers, in other words their perceptions; and is based on a network of associations of the visual, verbal, and behavioural expression of a place and its stakeholders (p. 19). These associations "differ in their influence within the network and in importance for the place consumers' attitude and behaviour." the effects of which can lead to a more positive evaluation of a place and greater levels of satisfaction (Zenker & Braun, 2017 p. 275); in other words, perceptions that places are perceived as successful or unsuccessful. These associations could be things such as the cultural offerings, the cultural and ethnic diversity, festivals, nature, the built environment and atmosphere of the place (Zenker 2011 p. 44). The place brand then, can be derived from the history or heritage of a place through historical festivals or anniversaries; through iconic buildings or developments in a spatial plan; through

events and activities such as annual cultural events and through institutions and processes with specific branding campaigns (Lucarelli and Berg 2011 p. 12).

Braun *et al* (2013) argue that there has been a tendency for the theory and practice of place-branding to neglect community members as potential participants in the place-branding processes. Instead, they are treated as passive beneficiaries or a target audience with little or nothing to contribute. Braun *et al* (2013) argue that residents should be seen as vital and active participants in place-branding processes, as co-producers of goods, services and policies. They suggest three roles for residents in order for successful place-branding to occur which include residents as an integrated part [via a deliberate strategy] of the place brand, as place ambassadors where residents actively promote their place brand and as citizens through their participation in local decision making, each of which impact on the other (Braun *et al* 2013 pp. 20-21). For example, they argue that greater participation of residents as citizens increases the likelihood of residents becoming place ambassadors.

Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013) see place-branding as a process which links place identity, experience and image. They argue that place-branding is a dynamic process involving interactions of multiple perspectives, the meanings of which will be evaluated, reinforced or rejected to create new meanings. Kavaratzis and Hatch do not see a single core identity, from which the place brand is created at the beginning of the process, to be forced upon people. Rather the 'vision' of the place is something which is revisited often and should be receptive and responsive to internal and external stakeholder messages (2013 pp. 80-82). They argue therefore, that place-branding should be the result of co-creation of a multitude of people, representing a participatory view of place-branding which, they say, features very little in place-branding studies (2013 p. 72). Kavaratzis and Kalandides argue that power relations permeate place-branding, creating constant tension and change (2015 p. 1374). Kavaratzis and Hatch warn of the constant need to be cautious of such power struggles and ideological intentions (2013 p. 83). Community members do not passively accept place-brands that are imposed from above, rather they co-create place brands (or sense of place) through their acceptance, modification or challenging of the brand to create their place identity. This suggests that a successful place brand and place identity then, is not simply the result of a successful marketing campaign, rather it is borne out of struggles.

3.4. Place-making for Community

For Menin (2003) place-making is “simultaneously a material construct and a construct of the mind” (p. 1) and should be “as much a concern with what the self (individual and collective) brings to the place as with the definition of the intrinsic character of that place” (2003 p. 7). The mental and material construction of place in both man-made [sic] and natural settings are critical in understanding place-making. Aravot relates placemaking to a sense of place, in that achieving a sense of place is the desired result of placemaking (2002 p. 202). Attempts to achieve this has been mainly through the cultivation of public urban space, but points to the importance of non-physical aspects too given the socially constructed nature of sense of place (p. 206). Avarot sees ‘place’ as a phenomenological term and sense of place as a shared universal aspect to being in the world beyond cultural, historical or other differences, the outcome of human interpretation and action in the world – of dwelling (Avarot 2002 p. 207). For Avarot then, placemaking is an ideal which meets the need of sense of place; an aspiration whose meaning is open-ended, accommodating of changing use and multiple and context-sensitive relations in space and time (Aravot 2002 p. 207).

Facilitating place-making for the purpose of creating successful communities then requires flexibility in providing opportunities for both top-down and bottom-up approaches, public and private spaces, formal and informal activities and individual and collective endeavours. The literature on place-making provides a central focus from which to examine the activities, processes and policies of creating successful communities. Although attention to ‘community’ has waxed and waned over time, the creation of successful communities remains a critical endeavour as ‘community’ continues to be called upon, seen as a panacea for a range of social ills;

> discussions of problems of immigration, crime, terrorism and anti-social behaviour rarely proceed without mention of the part played by communities as either cause or cure. (Day 2006 in Hancock et al 2012 pg. 346)

In the endeavour to create successful communities, policy determines what such communities look like and what these elements of success are. Such communities are those conceived of in policies aimed at creating, regenerating and reimagining communities. These policies represent the aspirations of ‘successful’ communities

from the perspective of policymakers. This particular orientation to place-making will be critically discussed later in the thesis.

3.5. Summary

This chapter has introduced the concept of place-making and discussed its development. Place-making integrates the physical, social and political aspects of communities. In general, it refers to the ways in which places are "made, transformed perceived or framed "(Aref 2014 cited in Fincher et al 2016 p. 520). Place-making approaches may be organic or engineered. Engineered place-making tends to be that which is driven by place-making professionals in a top-down way. Organic place-making is that which is driven locally from the bottom-up, engaged in by residents. It is suggested that successful place-making is that which includes a combination of both approaches. Strategies of place-making have been discussed, including that of place-branding as an element of place-making. Place-branding refers to the ways in which different activities and associations of a place contribute to its reputation, image and identity. It can contribute to perceptions of a place as successful or unsuccessful. It is suggested that opportunities to facilitate place-making activities should be provided which recognise that people engage in place-making activities differently, in order for places to be successful. Discussion of how successful communities are conceived on in policy will now be discussed.

4. Defining 'success': The Policy Aspirations of Community Building Policies

4.1. Introduction

There has been an abundance of policies focused on creating successful communities, from the New Towns Programme of the 50s and 60s to the more recent new wave of Garden Villages, Towns and Cities (DCLG 2016) some of which will be discussed below. Each has brought with it ideas of particular elements required to create successful communities- places where people want to live, where they can prosper and have some sense of belonging and influence. These aspirations can be realised through the provision of a range of community amenities, mixed housing tenure and social infrastructure within a high-quality built environment, usually brought together in masterplans[2] (CABE 2004). According to policy, this comprises the recipe for success and can create places that are diverse, cohesive and prosperous. These different elements of these community building policies or policy aspirations, represent definitions of what a successful community should be from the perspective of policymakers. What policymakers envision as a successful community, prior to its implementation, is laid down in the policy documents. Policymakers may view these policies as successfully implemented if the policies achieve their objectives, regardless of how this may be experienced by those living in the communities. A community may be deemed successful by some external authority, but experienced as unsuccessful by those living in the community, as is the case with many of the new towns discussed below.

The New Towns programme is included because at the time of its completion, it was hailed a success and was later turned to for lessons on how to better deliver new developments and create successful communities. Those lessons were to inform the Sustainable Communities Plan (2003) which represented the next significant house-building policy. It is included because it remains the point of departure for place-making activity and with its target date of 2020 yet to be reached. The principles on which the policy was based continue to inform place-making and the

[2] the process by which organisations undertake analysis and prepare strategies, and the proposals that are needed to plan for major change in a defined physical area; supported by financial, economic and social policy documents and delivery mechanisms. CABE 2004 pg. 13

language of 'sustainable communities' is still widely used[3]. Each of these community building policies contain specific criteria to be met in order to create successful communities, as conceived of by policymakers. An examination of these policies then is necessary in order to determine how 'success' is defined by policy makers.

4.2. The New Towns Programme- Early Place-making

The New Towns programme, comprising 32 new towns across the UK between 1947 and 1970, is often referred to as one of the most ambitious urban planning exercises of the twentieth century. These were at the time, considered successful communities and represent an early example of place-making. Influenced by Ebenezer Howard's concept of the garden city, the new towns have accommodated over two million people and provided over one million jobs, points which can only be viewed as a policy success according to the government's response to the TLGR committee report in 2002 (TLGR 2002 p. 15). The remit of some of these 32 new towns was to attract new industry in regions of economic decline and address forecasted population growth and housing demand. The principles on which success was based were that the new towns should be "self-contained and balanced communities for work and living" (Reith Committee, 1945). These principles were integrated into masterplans to form a broad pattern of development which allowed some variation but included segregation of home and work, space for exercise and nature, privacy for the individual family, houses with private gardens and some measure of community life. The new towns were based on the notion of self-containment, described as "having the full range of amenities" and underpinned ideas about social interaction in the new towns (Aldridge 1979 p.108). In other words, how residents would engage in place-making and the facilities to enable this. These elements defined the policy aspirations of what a successful community would look like within the New Towns programme.

At the time of their near completion, the new towns were viewed largely as a successful endeavour of a social experiment in urban planning or place-making, hailed as a success in the literature that emerged at the time. However, this literature was diverse and fragmented, much of it in the form of annual reports of the New Town Development Corporations which "whistle[d] a happy tune", avoided

[3] In March 2016 the government announced plans to update the New Towns Act 1981 in order to accommodate a new wave of garden cities, towns and communities.

prickly subjects and simply endorsed the status quo (Aldridge 1979 pp. 159- 162). The lived experience of those within some of the new towns contrasted sharply with the policy aspirations of successful community building. Many new residents experienced a 'gap' between anticipation and reality of some of the promised amenities (Brooke-Taylor 1972 p.125). The enthusiasm and excitement of being in a new development soon gave way to disgruntlement, dissatisfaction and frustration with unfulfilled promises (Dennington 1972 p. 146).

Although each of the new towns fared slightly differently, there were criticisms common to many of them. The main criticisms related to transport infrastructure and the segregation of uses; the inflexibility of the town centre designs to adapt to changing needs; and housing design and public space, in particular the lack or inadequate provision of community facilities (TLGR 2002; DCLG 2008). While predicting the longevity of "innovative" building materials and designs may not have been possible at the time of building, there were warnings about the importance of community facilities and community involvement for creating successful communities at the time. Some of the new town corporations established social development departments with dedicated staff responsible for community development related activities. This included activities around social planning, information and participation and helped establish social clubs, tenants' associations, organised social activities, provided a feedback loop between residents and development officials and generally helped residents settle in and develop a sense of belonging. The failure to create a successful community was blamed on a lack of community infrastructure and the absence of designated community workers who could have facilitated action, interaction and social networks (Evans 1972; Osborn and Whitick 1977 p. 93; Aldridge 1979 p.113). Although the term was not in use at the time, these are the activities of place-making and the activities which contribute to creating successful communities.

The New Towns programme was turned to for lessons on how to better deliver new developments and create successful communities, with the Transport, Local Government and the Regions Committee calling for the identification of good practice and mistakes before any major new settlements are considered" (TLGR 2002 para. 39, 40). Such lessons were especially critical for the community building policy of the Sustainable Communities Plan which represented the next significant place-making endeavour.

4.3. The Sustainable Communities Plan

The Sustainable Communities Plan was implemented in 2003 and provided the blueprint for achieving the government target of providing three million homes by 2020 through Growth Areas, New Growth Points and Eco-Towns. The South-East of England and Cambridgeshire specifically comprise one of these growth areas (ODPM 2003; 2005).

The Sustainable Communities Plan promised a "step change" in housing delivery and in policies for delivering "sustainable communities for all" which would raise the quality of life in communities (ODPM 2003 pp. 3-5). The Sustainable Communities Plan claims to embody the principles of sustainable development by balancing and integrating social, economic and environmental needs (ODPM 2005 p. 56). Successful communities, as defined in this policy aspiration, are those which are economically vibrant, cohesive and offer their members equal, or at least similar life chances and in which all members can influence decision making and are places where people choose to live – communities of choice.

The Sustainable Communities Plan (ODPM 2003) and The Egan Review (ODPM 2004) set out the requirements for successful communities and the delivery framework for implementation. Sustainable communities were defined as those which:

> "meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, their children and other users, contribute to a high quality of life and provide opportunity and choice. They achieve this in ways that make effective use of natural resources, enhance the environment, promote social cohesion and inclusion and strengthen economic prosperity." (2004 p. 18)

This definition was used to identify eight components of a sustainable community, shown in the diagram below, each of which has a series of sub-components, (ODPM 2004 pp. 19-21):

Figure 1 Components of Sustainable Communities
Source: http://sherwoodsustainabilityportfolio.blogspot.com/p/sustainability.html

The plan promised to offer everyone a decent home at a price they could afford in a community they want to live in, now and in the future (ODPM 2005 p. 5). This would be achieved through the provision of "sufficient range, diversity, affordability and accessibility of housing within a balanced housing market" (ODPM 2005 p. 59). Thus, the plan would encourage more private housebuilding, provide more affordable housing through low-cost rent or ownership, especially for key workers and encourage social tenants into home-ownership (ODPM 2003 p. 30). The plan aims to achieve a better housing mix in new developments, including homes that are affordable, although the majority of homes will be for private ownership (ODPM 2003 p. 37).

Greater community engagement is an aspiration which underpins many of the goals of the plan. The plan aims to give more power to local people to "to shape their neighbourhoods and the services they rely on – including housing, schools, health, policing and community safety." (ODPM 2005 p. 18). Additionally, communities are given the opportunity to own and manage their community assets, such as playgrounds and community centres (ODPM 2005 p. 22). The distribution of power is shared with the different tiers of government, with whom local communities will be

working in partnership. Local councillors are expected to play a “more active part” in their neighbourhoods and community engagement is expected to work within the “democratic structures of local government and councillors” (ODPM 2005 p. 20). The plan states that councillors should be seen as the “natural focal point” and as someone who can “make things happen”. It is recognised that there is lack of diversity among councillors and a need to “attract a more diverse range of people” to these roles (ODPM 2005 p. 33). Details of how a more diverse range of people will be recruited to councillor roles are not offered. Little mention is made of community organisations or groups which could also increase participation and improve engagement or how they might share in the distribution of power. Participation in the creation and maintenance sustainable communities was the focus of the Egan Review of Skills for Sustainable Communities, to which discussion shall now turn.

The Egan Review of Skills for Sustainable Communities (2004) recommended the development of Sustainable Community Strategies to provide details on how sustainable communities would be created and maintained. The Egan Review suggested that the then current Community Strategies lacked clear direction and were not sufficiently comprehensive to deliver the common goal of sustainable communities (2004 p. 8). Egan suggested that in order to deliver sustainable communities, there must be a common understanding of sustainable communities definition, in a language that can be used and understood by everyone involved in order to contribute (2004 pp. 22-23). Egan investigated the extent to which the definition of sustainable communities resonated with people’s perceptions and address any gaps or unclear terminology. Egan found that most associated a ‘people element’, that is ‘families, friends and children’ with ideas of community. This testing of perceptions was identified as important so a ‘common language’ could be developed around the meaning of sustainable communities and enable everyone –politicians, officers, regeneration practitioners, voluntary and community groups and community itself- to contribute to the common goal of creating sustainable communities (ODPM 2004 pp. 22-23). Furthermore, the Egan Review recommended that indicators reflecting people’s perceptions of where they live, must be part of the process of assessing progress and should inform decisions (2004 p. 24).

The Egan Review also called for a wider range of groups to be involved in creating these communities, outside of the built environment professionals:

> A wide range of occupations – from planners, architects and surveyors, to staff from central, regional and local government, to retailers, educators and police officers will have an essential role to play in making communities attractive, safe places to live. (ODPM 2004 p. 3)

These are divided into core and associated occupations, with planners, urban designers, architects, local government staff, such as community workers, voluntary and community associations in the former; public service staff, retail and local businesses and the wider public in the latter. The 'core occupations' refer to those who spend all of their professional time in activities to do with planning, delivering and maintaining sustainable communities. All were considered essential in realising the policy aspiration of creating successful communities.

In delivering these communities, reforms to the planning system were called for. The Egan Review expected developers to "raise their game" in relation to the quality of their developments, how they work and with whom (ODPM 2004 p. 47). Part of the reforms recommended in the Egan Review build on earlier changes to the planning system and included the introduction of a pre-planning phase, more interactive community involvement and a more responsive approach to processing planning applications (ODPM 2004 p. 44). This was introduced as the Sustainable Communities Act (2007). The Sustainable Communities Act aimed to strengthen the role of local communities by enabling them to put forward suggestions for government action (DCLG 2008 p. 4). This was based on the idea that "local people know best what needs to be done to promote the sustainability of their area" (DCLG 2008 p. 3).

The Barker Review of Housing (2004) echoed the need for changes to the planning system, recommending reforms to Section 106, and the introduction of a planning gain supplement. The planning gain supplement would offset the reduced provision of Section 106 and offer a fairer and more consistent way to achieve development. The Planning-gain supplement was abandoned in favour of a Community Infrastructure Levy. The Community Infrastructure Levy was mooted in the Barker Review, but did not feature in planning guidance for a further four years (legislated for by the Labour government) and has since been amended several times (Barker 2004; The Planning Act 2008). Each of these planning reforms were intended to offer better mechanisms through which local authorities could realise greater benefits from

development and exercise more control over the developments that were granted planning permission in line with local priorities. Increasingly, these priorities were expected to be agreed with input from local communities affected by developments. A lack of community involvement and influence in past initiatives has been identified contributing factor in unsuccessful, inactive and unsustainable communities (see for example the Social Exclusion Unit 2001 *National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal;* DCLG 2006 *Strong and Prosperous Communities*).

4.4. Critique of the Sustainable Communities Plan

The extent to which the Sustainable Communities Plan represents a successful community has been questioned. The Sustainable Communities Plan bring together economic, social and environmental objectives, which is seen to contain inherent "irreconcilable" contradictions unable to be balanced (Brownill and Carpenter 2009 p. 270). Raco (2005) sees sustainable development as "a chameleon-like discourse which has been (re)interpreted and deployed by a range of interests to legitimate and justify a range of often contradictory and divergent agendas". For example, he argues that the increased focus on inclusion and social justice sit uneasily with a market orientation in which development capacities are maximised with scant regard for either and which similarly plague notions of 'sustainable communities' (Raco 2005 p. 330). Bradley and Haigh note similar concerns seeing a detachment in sustainable development from concerns for inequality and exclusion, to being defined wholly in terms of economic self-sufficiency (2016 p. 315). Many of the aspirations within the plan are couched in vague terms with no attempt to define what these might mean in practice, such as "right balance" and "quality of jobs" (Brownill and Carpenter 2009 p. 266) and raising questions of for whom these are to be achieved.

Brownill and Carpenter writing on the Thames Gateway development, identify tensions between the provision of housing for key workers, who are priced out of the housing market, and a strategy to provide adequate levels of "luxury housing" to attract inward investment (2009 p. 266). They identify further issues with the provision of affordable housing for key workers in the Thames Gateway development related to a misalignment with the local labour market. The local labour market, they argue, is dominated by low-skilled, low-paid employment. Therefore, the goal of attracting key workers to the area is likely to result in commuter communities, as key workers have to travel outside the area for employment (Brownill and Carpenter 2009 pp. 265- 266). Raco draws attention to

contradictions between ‘sustainability’ and the Sustainable Communities Plan’s aim to deliver housing by housebuilders which tend to build on large areas of greenfield land (2005 p. 335). Furthermore, he argues that the there is little acknowledgement of the key role of housebuilding industry in creating problems in the first place through, for example practices of “land-banking”, where developers deliberately withhold land to increase its value (2005 p. 335). Similarly, Maliene, Howe and Malys argue that the Sustainable Communities Plan has failed to achieve its aim of providing “sufficient range, diversity, affordability and accessibility of housing” (ODPM 2003 p. 58) and providing adequate housing for all (Maliene, Howe and Malys 2008 pp. 273-275). They found discrepancies between what professionals and academics involved in regeneration programmes found important in creating sustainable communities and what was enacted in policy. Those involved in regeneration believed that all elements of the Sustainable Communities policy were equally important, followed by the economy. However, local policy implementation tended to focus on housing and the built environment and services (2008 p. 274). This points to the continued relevance of Lipsky’s street level bureaucrat (1980 in Hill and Hupe 2011 p. 51).

Raco argues that the Sustainable Communities Plan reconceptualises notions of citizenship through the aspiration of homeownership. He argues the aspiration of home ownership excludes and governs as it is equated with having a greater stake in community, self-reliance and being a responsible citizen, therefore excluding those who cannot achieve home ownership and marking them as dependent, less responsible citizens for whom there is no place in sustainable communities (2005 p. 339). This simultaneously promotes norms of community based on the presence of middle-income households and justify forms of gentrification as a way to transform communities (Raco 2005 p. 340).

It is argued by Pugalis that Sustainable Community Strategies have not enabled the development of distinctive community visions, rather they have become little more than a ‘tick-box’ exercise the corporate arm of local authorities (2010 p. 125). Similarly, Brownill and Carpenter point to difficulties in developing a coherent strategy in the Thames Gateway, with a “networked governance” approach creating confusion among stakeholders, a lack of clear leadership and direction (2009 p. 265).

Notions of “engaged communities” who “participate” underlie many of the Sustainable Communities Plan’s components, the achievement of which rests largely on familiar modes of governance, such as parish plans and councillors. While there is evidence that some communities have seized on the partial powers

granted in neighbourhood planning and seen marginal reductions in representational inequalities, participation tends to be from the same narrow pool of the "usual suspects", those with the right kinds of capitals (Bradley and Haigh 2016 pp. 311-320). Brownill and Carpenter found little involvement from the community and voluntary sector, especially at the strategic level. This implies that community comes, if at all, only after important decisions have been made (Brownill and Carpenter 2009 p.267). In addition, they found considerable overlap of 'elites' holding positions across more than one board, questioning any idea of 'openness' of governance networks (Brownill and Carpenter 2009 p. 268). Gaps persist between rhetoric and reality in relation to community involvement in governance and delivery structures (Brownill and Carpenter 2009 p. 269).

While not in the context of a new build community, research by Franklin *et al* 2011 highlight similar issues discussed above as part of an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) funded research project investigating local community sustainability initiatives and their connections to the Sustainable Communities agenda.

Franklin *et al* (2011) note that despite an emphasis on community engagement in policy, there has been a lack of "evidence of a connection having been made between the potential contributions of professionals *and* community residents in the sustainable policies discourse" (their emphasis p. 348). Rather the emphasis has remained on upskilling the professional occupations while community residents remain on the periphery, portrayed as "willing recipients of professional aid", neglecting the potential of community residents' lived experience contribution to skills and knowledge for sustainability in the creation and maintenance of sustainable communities (Franklin *et al* 2011 p.351). They are critical of such approaches which seek to 'upskill' community members, as though they lack the required skills, and which simply recast community members in their own [professional] image. Such an approach, they argue, obscures the contributions of bottom-up generated solutions and the context in which they occur (Franklin *et al* 2011 p. 351). For Franklin *et al* (2011) all knowledge and skills have the potential to contribute to creating sustainable communities, not just those listed in the Sustainable Communities Plan or the Egan review. They call for greater attention to the ways in which community members themselves engage in local sustainability projects, how doing so is integrated with their everyday routines and how these contribute to the development of skills and

knowledge for the sustainable communities agenda, which they say is currently ignored (2011 p. 360).

This apparent disconnect between community-led sustainability initiatives and local government strategies is examined further by Franklin and Marsden (2015) in the context of the same ESRC research programme. They examine the impact of connections and disconnections between community-led sustainability initiatives and local government strategies for achieving sustainable communities. They suggest there are mutual benefits of both connections and disconnections between community groups and local government officials, demonstrating a need for both specificity and variation in participatory opportunities. Community groups may choose to stay disconnected from local government in order to maintain their relative freedom to pursue alternative sustainable initiatives. However, Franklin and Marsden suggest a disconnect may also exist because of the time, energy and commitment required by community activists, many of whom undertake their role on a voluntary basis, balancing it with a range of other family and work commitments. Community activists may therefore prioritise what they believe will "make a difference" on the ground and see involvement in local government promoted initiatives such as sustainable community see strategies such sustainable community strategies, as merely "bureaucratic". In addition, Franklin and Marsden highlight both inertia and reluctance on the part of local government actors to seek active engagement of community members in initiatives outside those required in policy, such as consultation exercises and SCS, because they see 'lay knowledge' as "unnecessary, unwarranted and in some cases, as a direct challenge to their authority" (2015 p. 4).

Franklin and Marsden found increased connectivity through the use of a "credible intermediary" whereby a dedicated worker was able to maintain a degree of neutrality between community groups and local government actors, seen by both sides as not too closely aligned with either (Franklin 2013 cited in Franklin and Marsden 2015 p.14). In Franklin and Marsden's research, the credible intermediary was a dedicated post funded by external resources on a temporary basis and it may be that the increased connectivity is also temporary. This points to a need to allocate specific resources if greater community involvement is to be achieved, something which has become more difficult in the context of local government spending cuts during the prolonged period of austerity. While participation from community members remains a widely promoted aim of community building policies and for achieving successful communities, it does so in the context of a changing political and policy landscape, to which discussion shall now turn.

4.5. A Changed Landscape

While the Sustainable Communities Plan remained the point of departure for large housebuilding efforts, there were a range of wider policy developments which impacted on how these proceeded and in particular, how participation by community members was conceived. These policy developments both expanded and contracted opportunities for local community participation. The election of a Conservative-LibDem Coalition government in 2010 saw "radical reforms" introduced across public services (Cabinet Office 2010 p. 7). Outlined in the Conservatives flagship 2010 election manifesto policy, the Big Society, the reforms claimed to reduce red tape, increase philanthropy and promised devolution from the centre to local communities, later rolled out in the Localism Act 2011 (DCLG 2011).

Cameron first introduced his vision of the Big Society at a Hugo Young Memorial Lecture in November 2009 and formally launched the Big Society agenda in a pre-election speech in March 2010 and again in July 2010 (Cameron 2009; 2010). Presented as the alternative to New Labour's failed big government approach, the Big Society plan increased expectations of community involvement and of communities to 'help themselves and their own communities' rather than turn to government (Cameron 2010). Building the Big Society would depend on public service reforms, empowering local communities to take over local amenities and have greater control over the planning system. Referring to it as 'people power' and 'collaborative democracy', Cameron called for participation, social engagement and bringing communities together to form a shared vision. The Big Society would be delivered with support from a "neighbourhood army" of 5,000 full-time, professional community organisers" and finance from the Big Society Bank to fund neighbourhood groups and social enterprises (Cameron 2010). These themes of decentralisation, social engagement and community control were taken forward as social action, public service reform and community empowerment, and formed the three main strands of the Big Society Plan (The Conservative Party 2010) and later the Localism Act (DCLG 2011).

The Localism Act (2011) promised new freedoms and flexibilities for local government through increasing competition within public service provision; new

rights and powers for communities which included community rights to challenge and bid to take over local amenities under the threat of closure; and planning system reforms which included a community right to build and the right for communities to draw up their own neighbourhood plans (DCLG 2011).

The Big Society came under heavy criticism, not least because of its launch amid massive spending cuts which threatened many of the third sector organisations expected to support its development (see for example Sir Stuart Etherington 2010). Many questioned the ability to build the big society with such massive cuts looming and argued that those who were already powerless and marginalised would be left behind (Coote 2010). Others still, accused Cameron of repackaging or reappropriating programmes previously implemented by New Labour (McSmith 2010; Blears 2010).

The lexicon of the Big Society soon fell out of favour (it did not feature in the Conservative's 2015 election manifesto), to be replaced by the language of localism, a policy which continued in the 'age of austerity' with the election of a Conservative government for a second term in 2015 (Lowndes and Pratchett 2012). Localism has been subject to similar criticisms to that of the Big Society and has come to be variously termed 'austerity localism', 'austerity urbanism' and 'progressive localism', representing 'varieties' of localism (Featherstone *et al* 2012; Lowndes and Pratchett 2012; Hastings *et al* 2017; Jupp 2020).

Featherstone *et al* (2012) see localism as a recurring thread within UK neoliberalism. They use the term 'austerity localism' to refer the ways in which localism has been mobilised to construct the local as antagonistic to the state and to restructure the public sector (2012 pp. 1-2). However, they see an opportunity develop an alternative emancipatory 'progressive localism' structured around social justice (Featherstone *et al* 2012 p. 3). They argue that without engaging with power relations, conflict and inequalities in communities, austerity localism will result in empowering those already in possession of the resources to participate in service provision and exclude those in disadvantaged communities (Featherstone *et al* 2012 pp.2-3), echoing findings of previous research about the unequal impact of austerity and participation of the 'usual suspects' (Coote 2011; Taylor 2011). More recent research by Hastings *et al* (2017) argues that austerity has been 'downloaded' to the poorer communities where the impacts of service reductions accumulate more quickly and more forcefully and has resulted in local authorities

lacking the resources to meet people's needs, leading to increased marginalisation (2017 pp.2013-2020).

The impact of austerity on participation from those in disadvantaged areas is discussed by Deas and Doyle (2013) in the context of capacity building and social capital in areas of regeneration in Manchester. Deas and Doyle identify challenges with capacity building, developing and maintaining social capital which would enable people to participate in ways expected in localism policy (2013 p.372). They argue that austerity has shaped regeneration initiatives so that developers have a narrow focus on housebuilding alone, without investment in community facilities, which are needed for capacity building, developing social capital and therefore community mobilisation (Deas and Doyle 2013 p.375). Such facilities can provide the space to enable the development of community groups, which Chanan and Miller as the "fundamental building blocks" of communities (2013 pp. 53-54). There are then, inherent contradictions in austerity localism between the drive for efficiency and cost-effectiveness, the promotion of neighbourhood-based organisations for service delivery to achieve efficiency and the lack of provision of community resources and facilities with which to make this happen (Deas and Doyle 2013 p.376).

The contradictions identified by Deas and Doyle above are brought to bear by Findlay-King *et al* 2017 in their research on asset transfer in leisure services, one of the ways in which communities would be empowered within the Localism Act. They assert that asset transfer can be theorised as austerity localism, where volunteers are expected to fill the gaps left by retreating public provision or as progressive localism, which provide new opportunities to develop more locally responsive, cooperative enterprises (Findlay-King *et al* 2017 p.4). They found that asset transfers were more likely to be successful in communities that were stable, had high levels of social capital, with sufficiently skilled and confident volunteers, and there was local authority guidance, political support and goodwill and a genuine handover of power (Findlay-King *et al* 2017 pp.11-12). Less successful transfers were resultant of fast transfer times which limited volunteers' ability to develop the skills needed to take over facilities, a lack of availability of technical training and if empowerment happened, it did so as an incidental consequence rather than as an explicit objective of local authorities (Findlay-King *et al* 2017 pp.13-14). Although they did not find challenges to the neoliberalist hegemony as Featherstone *et al* (2012) define progressive localism, they did find that some asset transfers resulted in the development of services more responsive to local needs (Findlay-King *et al* 2017 2017 p.14). However, considerations of financial viability and the austerity

context in which the facilities were expected to operate, meant that larger established firms were favoured, especially in managing sports facilities (Findlay-King *et al* 2017 p.15). Overall, Findlay-King *et al* (2017) found that asset transfer could be better characterised by austerity localism than by progressive localism, although with adequate support and resources the latter could be achieved.

The localism agenda promoted a key role for third sector organisations as service providers, although conceptualised differently to that under New Labour (Fenwick and Gibbon 2015). Previous incarnations of the role of the third sector were that of serving as supplementary to the state, whereas redefined within the Coalition's localism, the third sector has become a replacement for state service provision (Williams, Goodwin and Cloke 2014 p.2800). Third sector organisations, which may comprise community groups, charitable organisations and philanthropic organisations, have long played a role in public services (Fenwick and Gibbon 2015) and have the potential act as a site of resistance or acquiescence (Wiiliams, Goodwin and Cloke 2014 p.2800). Dagdeviren, Donoghue and Wearmouth argue that the role of the third sector has changed under austerity to that of a "primarily reactive and stabilising role, rather than a longer-term supporting role more suited to empowerment" which they say has had a disempowering effect on those accessing services to meet basic needs (2019 p.144). Where third sector organisations were likely to be more empowering, such as advice and advocacy organisations, their ability to adequately support service users were further hampered by their own limited resources, increased demand on their services and the complexity of people's needs as a result of austerity (Dagdeviren, Donoghue and Wearmouth 2019 pp. 153-154). Therefore, austerity funding cuts had disempowering effects on both service providers and service users (Dagdeviren, Donoghue and Wearmouth 2019 p.155).

Restrictions on what organisations can do as a result of austerity have also been keenly felt among community groups and community workers. Reynolds (2019) argues that austerity cuts constricted and altered the landscape of community development, leading to unprecedented losses in community development infrastructure and a decline in the professional profile, compelling them to reshape as social enterprise and community organising (Reynolds 2019 pp. 590-592). These changes, according to Reynolds, had a destabilising effect on community development projects because of unrealistic expectations on social enterprise

volunteers and on what the Community Organisers were expected to achieve, with very few projects reaching sustainability (Reynolds 2019 pp.599-601). Jupp discusses changes to the nature of community work in the context of austerity cuts where a drastic reduction in the infrastructure of neighbourhood workers had replaced 30 community workers with just three (Jupp 2020 p. 8). This reduction saw the nature of community work change from providing 'support' to communities to 'signposting', the transition of which was felt as a sense of loss and of 'going backwards' (Jupp 2020 pp.8-9). Like the reshaping of community development in Reynolds research discussed above, the groups in Jupp's research had been "supported or perhaps coerced" into becoming social enterprises and become self-sustaining (2020 p. 11). However, the service providers upon which they were relying to become self-sustaining were also experiencing financial losses as a result of austerity cuts, destabilising their plans for sustainability (Jupp 2020 p.11). For another group, the focus of community work shifted from neighbourhood safety concerns around traffic calming, to providing immediate support to address poverty and hunger (Jupp 2020 pp.11-14). Jupp argues that the withdrawal of the state within austerity localism has led to a divergence between policy discourse and lived experience, leaving communities to navigate the dissonance and without an alternative narrative, localism will continue to lead.

In summary, the Big Society and Localism agendas promised a devolution of power from the centre to local communities through the granting of new rights and powers which would empower communities to give them a greater say in shaping what their communities looked like and how they were run. The introduction of the Big Society and Localism agendas amidst swingeing public expenditure cuts as part of a wider programme of austerity has largely undermined the realisation of these rights and powers for communities. Positioned as a recurring thread of UK neoliberalism, it has been variously termed 'austerity localism', 'austerity urbanism' and 'progressive localism', the latter of which represents the potential for an alternative emancipatory project. As demonstrated in the research discussed above, the impact of austerity has been uneven, with disadvantaged communities bearing the brunt of cuts and reduced services. Conversely, the more affluent and well-resourced communities have been more likely to benefit from changed governance structures and localism programmes such as asset transfers, thereby perpetuating existing inequalities. Projects of emancipatory 'progressive localism' alternatives have been few.

Localism has restructured the relationship between citizens and the state, the ways in which communities can participate in decision making and the roles and nature of organisations which would support community participation. All are expected to do more, with less. While the political and policy landscape in which communities are planned and delivered has changed, the focus on community participation in achieving a wide range of goals related to community building has not. Opportunities for participation have both expanded and contracted within this changed landscape of austerity localism. Although the success of these changes for participation and creating successful communities, as discussed above, remain uneven.

4.6. Summary

This chapter has introduced community building policies of the New Towns Programme and the Sustainable Communities Plan which illustrate how a successful community is conceived of from the perspective of policymakers. A number of factors for achieving the policy aspirations of successful communities have been identified within these. A critique of these policies is provided which identifies a number of limitations in realising the aspirations laid out. Of these limitations, the way in which participation is defined in policy and the structures which enable community participation to happen is identified as a crucial element of creating successful communities. The wider context of policy and political changes in which new communities are planned is discussed with reference to the introduction of the Big Society and Localism policies introduced by the Conservative-LibDem Coalition government and the subsequent Conservative government. A number of recent studies are discussed which examine the nature and impact of austerity on the roles of third sector organisations and the ways in which communities are expected to participate in this changed landscape. Although, community participation has been restructured in austerity localism, it remains a key policy objective in achieving successful communities. The role of participation and examples of participation in practice are discussed in the following chapter.

5. Achieving 'Success': The Role of Participation

5.1. Introduction

Aligning policy aspirations and the lived community experience requires communication between these two points. In other words, the policy aspirations need input and involvement from local communities. As highlighted in the previous chapter, community participation emerges as an important element in creating successful communities. This current chapter discusses notions of participation and identifies some of the ways in which participation may be facilitated. Examples of participation in practice are examined and the challenges and limitations of these discussed.

5.2. Modes of Participation

Community development practitioners have long advocated community involvement across a range of areas in order to achieve positive social outcomes. For example, Burns *et al* (2004) in benchmarking community involvement in regeneration, see community participation as essential for engendering a sense of ownership of communities by its members; enabling policy that is relevant to local communities; and enhancing the effectiveness of regeneration policies by bringing the community's knowledge, understanding and experience into the process, which is different to that of planners and other place-making professionals (2004 pp. 2-3). Participation though, must be meaningful and Burns *et al* warn against equating participation with consultation, a practice of which many are guilty when claiming to provide opportunities for community participation (2004 pp. 2-3).

Meaningful community participation is that in which communities are playing an active part and have a significant degree of power and influence (Burns et al 2004 pp.2-3). There should be a wide range of formal and informal ways to participate, evidence that communities have been heard and a recognition that people participate from a variety of different starting points and cultural experience. Jupp (2008) argues that considerations of participation and community involvement should extend beyond the more formal participatory opportunities provided for in policy frameworks. Jupp asserts that small-scale social interactions, or "micro-level interactions" can contribute to collective action (2008 p. 333). Jupp suggests that the notion of "helping out" better encapsulated engagement and that activities such

as having a “cup of tea and a chat” could lead to discussion of local issues (2008 pp. 336-338). Cornwall (2008) asserts that meaningful participation depends on the context and on those within it, with different purposes demanding different forms of engagement by different kinds of participants, with several forms operating in a single activity (2008 p. 273). When participation is meaningful, it has the potential to improve levels of neighbourhood satisfaction among residents and in turn can promote continued participation (Russ and Takahashi 2013 pp. 692-694). Similarly, when participation is unsatisfactory, participants do not feel heard or see their influence in the activity, participation is likely to be discontinued. Repeated participatory opportunities which result in no visible outcomes for participants, can result in participation fatigue and discourage future involvement (Beresford and Hoban 2005 p. 20). In relation to creating successful communities, greater levels of satisfaction and seeing the impact of their participation could result in perceiving policies as more legitimate and relevant and perceptions of community as successful.

Participation can be facilitated in a number of ways and takes on a myriad of forms, as categorised by Arnstein’s famous ladder of participation in which citizen control sits at the top and non-participation, in the form of therapy and manipulation, sit at the bottom (Arnstein 1969). This can be direct through formal consultations or via established intermediaries such as community representatives or local councillors or could take the form of community-led planning. Some of these examples will be examined in the next section and the challenges associated with these.

5.3. Participation in Practice

Parker and Murray (2012) note the rise of policies of community involvement, engagement, participation and empowerment over the past decade in relation to spatial planning and the mixed fortunes of these in relation to achieving participation or convincing the public of its value (p. 2). Although often viewed sceptically by many, used as ‘window dressing’ or little more than ‘rhetorical bulwarks’ by politicians and policymakers, participation may also be motivated and organised by communities themselves as direct challenges to decision-making. Despite increased policy impetus on community involvement through, for example, decentralisation and localism, they argue there has been a lack of rigorous and theoretically informed analysis of the efforts to engage communities, in terms of the methods of engagement, motivations of engagement and of who is being engaged.

Parker and Murray's research focuses on understanding the motivations of community members to become involved in developing Parish Plans, as a form of community-led planning, in order to maximise future participation (Parker and Murray 2012 pp. 3-4). They argue that in order to achieve meaningful participation and durable engagement, people must see why they should participate and to what end. Parker and Murray do not examine obstacles or barriers outside of their rational-instrumental motivational paradigm which may inhibit or prevent community participation, such as power differentials or existing inequalities, though they do draw attention to the need for further research on these areas.

Parker and Murray identified factors for successful and sustained engagement, such as trust in the local institutions, clear expectations on the nature and outcome of engagement and a structure and process that is matched to the profile of potential participants (2012 pp.13-20). They interviewed 55 participants, all of whom were already active in local affairs, 19 of which had prior experience of Parish Council involvement and who rather fit the profile of the 'usual suspects' of community involvement (Taylor 2011 p. 174). In other words, those who were involved were older, male and already motivated to participate- easy to reach and easy to engage, thus avoiding the challenges of garnering involvement from those less likely to become involved- the 'hard to reach'- and whose views matter and should be represented but tend to be under-represented. The participatory experience of those involved suggests they were 'knowledgeable actors' in the sense that they were already aware of the likely processes and structures, familiar with the use of technocratic language so often employed in such circumstances and possessed sufficient capacity to participate (Taylor 2011 pp. 164-166). This then neglects the additional time and resources needed to facilitate community involvement from those without such participatory experience and capacity. There is no discussion by Parker and Murray of the extent to which those involved in this example of community-led planning represented the views of the wider communities affected by the development of the parish plan. The participants in their research were involved in the whole cycle of the parish plan. They did not discuss the reasons for the more sporadic involvement of others not involved for the duration of the cycle.

While reasons for sporadic or non-continued involvement could be for reasons of relevance or time commitments, this could also be because of a lack of satisfaction with the process, not having their views represented or an inability to develop shared visions of the development. If seeking to understand reasons for involvement, it is also crucial to understand reasons for non-involvement.

Parker and Murray discuss the importance of the having trust in the institutions involved in public participation opportunities for fostering and maintaining community involvement (p. 4). In their research, the local authority promised actions and allocated resources from the outset and had a good reputation and were seen as being responsive to the community's needs. This suggests there were already good levels of trust in the institution to keep promises of action and act upon input from the community, without which the levels of participation could have been much lower. This could also suggest that a closer alignment of visions of the development between the community members and the planning professionals may have been more easily reached if existing relations were already good and participants felt their voices were heard. Parker and Murray do discuss the importance of a community development worker in the development of this plan (2012 p.20). The community development worker acted as an intermediary to manage and temper community expectations. This could be viewed in two ways- this may have helped achieve a greater alignment of views, or it could have been an exercise in quelling disquiet and disappointment. There was no mention of aspects of the plan that were viewed as contentious or of conflict. Parker and Murray do not discuss the extent to which the participants or community members were satisfied with the outcome and implementation of the plan. Instead, they discuss other aspects, such as better relations within/among community members not the outcome of the plan and the extent to which this resulted in an alignment of visions of the development. Although Parker and Murray posit the finding of this research as a good example of community-led planning, in that the plan was co-constructed, they also point out that the community had little choice but to accept any 'adjustments' made by the local authority (2012 p. 23). This raises questions on the extent to which there was a genuine alignment of views (or whether it was simply a good example of how to suppress any disappointment).

Doering (2014) highlights similar issues and challenges in the context of regeneration. Doering (2014) discusses the nature of community participation in the context of regeneration partnerships in a Kent coalfield community and the difficulties of reconciling different visions of 'community'. He notes a number of failings with the regeneration project despite its evaluation by the DCLG (2007) as one of 'successful partnership working' (2014 p. 1016). The difficulties in realising shared visions of 'community' arose from the ways in which the regeneration professionals worked with the community and their neglect of existing tensions and divisions therein. The regeneration professionals entered the community with pre-

existing ideas of how the community should be engaged and as such precluded the community's own views on the nature of their engagement and on what the community themselves deemed relevant/ appropriate to their circumstances/context. The regeneration professionals sought to engage the community by establishing community liaison groups through which community views would be articulated (2014 p. 1010). The recruitment process of this resulted in groups comprised of middle-class professionals who lacked any connection [to the colliery site] other than physical proximity and therefore whose views were not representative of the wider community. This lack of representativeness of wider community's views is common in such participatory activities, with professionals engaging the 'usual suspects' and further contributes to professionals' construction of 'legitimate' partners, to the exclusion of others, thereby perpetuating existing power structures and lines of exclusion (Eversole 2010; Taylor 2011; Somerville 2016). When the recruitment process was changed to the election of members at public meetings, those elected were community members who were already active in other forums in the community which still failed to represent the wider community's views (2014 p. 1011). Doering notes how such an approach of professionals chimes with previous research which sees professionals accepting community involvement on their own terms, rather than on the community's terms (2014 p. 1011).

For the community members who were involved in the regeneration partnership, Doering found widespread disillusionment amongst participants in relation to the extent and nature of community involvement and the outcome expected by those who were involved (2014 p. 1013). The regeneration professionals did not make their own position clear and so did not manage community expectations about what they could deliver, the outcome of the regeneration or the outcome of the community's participation. Negative experiences with professionals involved in regenerating or creating communities (and other areas of public policy) can act as barriers to (future) participation, feelings of futility of community involvement from community members and generate mistrust and suspicion. This has implications for providing opportunities that might facilitate creating a shared vision of community, not just in the context of Doering's research but in other developments of community building and regeneration. The feelings of mistrust and suspicion are exacerbated when, for example, developers 'renegotiate' the social goods, such as social housing or community facilities, they are expected to provide through Section 106

agreements. Recent high-profile cases illustrate this (see for example Wainwright 2014; Pidd and Cocksedge 2018).

Johnstone, Robison and Manning (2013) examine the role of the local councillor in the development of new communities within the context of the devolved powers afforded to communities via the Localism Act 2011. They suggest that the role of the local councillor is one with much potential but underutilised for garnering local community involvement and therefore achieving greater alignment between policy aspirations and community experience. They identify two key points at which local councillors can influence developments. The first is during the preparation stage of the local development framework or local plan, which has several public consultation stages. The second point is at subsequent planning applications, where the local councillor has the opportunity to address potential issues which may impact negatively on new communities (Johnstone, Robison and Manning 2013 p. 4926). Methods of engagement and its extent varied across sites but the councillors participating in the research reported that where they engaged communities earlier in the process, provided appropriate support to enable participation and managed expectations on the progress of development, community members were more likely to feel part of the development and tensions reduced (p. 4934). One area in their study boasted a consultation that 'involved 25,000 residents, businesses and stakeholders' including a focus on 'hard to reach groups' (Jonstone, Robison and Manning 2013 p. 4931). Neither the nature of involvement nor the breakdown of these groups was specified. So, it is possible that the involvement may have been dominated by businesses and other stakeholders, with few residents involved. This could mean that it was the views of the businesses and stakeholders which were successful in being heard and included in any future developments, rather than those of the residents. In addition, the nature of 'involvement' may have been tokenistic, as is often the case in such consultation exercises, resulting in very little influence in the way plans developed, and the nature of the community finally conceived of. Furthermore, their research is based on the views of the local councillors about their perceptions of the views of the communities. Whilst they did identify some issues in the developments, the extent to which they might be willing to expose widespread dissatisfaction with these developments could be questioned. The authors did not interview community members themselves, whom they regard as an "important additional source of information regarding the ways in which local councillors might facilitate local engagement and community development", a limitation which they acknowledge (p.

4943). Community members are important sources of information in their own right, as contributors to the shape of their communities directly, not only through intermediaries and therefore should be seen as key informants and generators of legitimate knowledge along with knowledge from 'experts' such as councillors. This research contributes to addressing this gap by seeking the views of community members themselves as key informant and generators of legitimate knowledge.

Rogerson *et al* 2010 examine the role of planning professionals for engaging communities in the context of the Sustainable Communities agenda (ODPM 2003) and the skills identified in the Egan Review (2004) required by planning professionals to do so. The Sustainable Communities agenda is identified in this research as one of the policy aspirations of successful communities. The Egan Review asserted that professionals involved in community building lacked the skills required to effectively engage communities, the involvement of whom was identified as a necessity for developing shared visions of development and therefore creating successful communities. Rogerson et al (2010) assert that the Egan review has changed the role of the planning professional from that of imposed place-making to one that emphasises partnership with all stakeholders, including members of the communities being developed (p. 509). They state that as the Sustainable Communities agenda has evolved, there is an expectation that planning professionals take a more coordinated and consensus-based approach to planning communities (p. 514), and have key roles in facilitating communities to determine a vision for the future of their community. They see challenges with this not least because there is no consensus on what these communities should look like, but also because planning professionals are not sufficiently skilled and there has been insufficient attention given to the community development skills needed to sustain communities, which enable a community "to evolve and live together as a cohesive group" (p. 514); in other words, a successful community. They acknowledge challenges with aligning the aspirations [of what the community should look like] of local residents, businesses and the wider policy objectives, the solution to which is for professionals to continue to engage in learning in order to make community-building more inclusive (2010 p. 518). My research contributes to this call for continued learning.

Kraftl *et al* (2013) examine the experiences of young people in new build sustainable communities and urban extensions which are still being constructed as part of a

ESRC funded project. With the new communities still under construction they look at how young people's material interactions with 'building sites' contribute to processes of meaning-making in new communities. Parcels of land yet to be developed provided opportunities for young people's creativity in their own place-making efforts, whilst simultaneously acting as sources of risk and intergenerational tension in contestations of 'ownership' (2013 p. 198). Young people named 'unfinished' parcels of "land-in-waiting" and created "good places to play" through their construction of bike ramps and dens, providing them with spaces for sociality and ways of "making themselves at home" (2013 p. 196) and contributing to the creation of their communities.

Although Kratfl *et al* (2013) provide information about the stages of development for each of their case study areas, they do not specify if there are complete or incomplete formally designated local areas of play. Local areas of play are usually identified in the masterplans, although their completion and therefore access to them, can vary**.** This raises two points for consideration. If there is an absence of formally designated local areas of play for young people, this suggests that young people are creating their own spaces in response to a lack of facilities. If formally designated local areas of play have yet to be developed, the young people's choices on what they play, how they play and how they construct their own areas has significance for their participation in the planning and design of such areas to ensure they meet the needs of young people. If young people are creating their own spaces alongside existing local areas of play, this could suggest that they are inadequate to meet their needs, which could be the result of a lack of input from young people in the design of such areas. Young people's participation is discussed in a research briefing paper from the same project. Christensen *et al* (2013) found that young people were disillusioned with planning and decision-making processes and disappointed with "broken promises" from planners, developers and Local Authorities around the provision of community and recreational facilities. They argue that young people are an "untapped resource of knowledge and ideas" with methods of engagement such as residents' associations, councils and committees, excluding their participation, despite young people's desire to be included (p. 3). Indeed, the ways in which young people made creative use of unfinished parcels of land suggest that there are benefits to leaving some land undeveloped so that newcomers and community groups can decide on its most appropriate use as needs emerge (Kraftl *et al* 2013 p. 5). Leaving some undeveloped space then, can enable meaningful places to be developed by the

community members themselves as their needs change, allowing people and place to evolve together.

The points raised above in relation to young people's participation in place-making underscore the importance and relevance of the potential contributions from young people in designing communities which "meet the diverse needs" (ODPM 2004 p. 18) of all residents, including those of young people and highlights the ways in which young people contribute to the creation and maintenance of their communities.

5.4. Summary

This chapter has examined the role of participation in the creation and maintenance of successful communities. Examples of participation in practice have been discussed and the challenges and limitations of these. The main challenges and limitations refer to the ways in which communities are provided with opportunities to participate, with many being inadequate for the community members' needs and failing to sufficiently represent their views. This has resulted in a lack of alignment of community members' vision of a successful community and that of place-making professionals. Community members' vision of a successful community is informed by their expectations of what they think their community should and will look like. The following chapter discusses the concept of expectations.

6. Expectations of Success

6.1. Introduction

As stated in the previous literature review chapter, community members vision of a successful community is informed by their expectations. Perceptions of success from my participants derived from their expectations of what they thought their communities should and would look like. The idea of expectations featured strongly during my data analysis, requiring a review of the literature around 'expectations'. This body of literature did not feature in the initial literature review but became significant as data analysis progressed. This chapter introduces this body of literature.

In developing the theme of *Expectations* and analysing the data in this theme, it became necessary to engage with a body of literature not yet used in research on community or place-making. The existing research on community and place-making did not enable an adequate analysis of the data from participants which related to the range of facilities in their communities and the roles of the institutional actors. Participants' discussions of what they expected their communities to contain and by whom it should be provided led to an investigation of the concept of expectations. This in turn led to the expectations-disconfirmation literature. This body of literature has its origins in consumer satisfaction research, where it is used extensively, and more recently in relation to public services, where it is used less widely. The expectations-disconfirmation literature has not been applied in the context of creating new communities, which represents a hybrid of public and private/commercial services. The use of the expectations literature in this research is a new application and therefore makes new links to the literature on place-making and community. A critical discussion of the literature is offered here which highlights some of the key findings of the expectations research and how it informed my analysis. The limitations of the expectations literature are also discussed. The challenges and tensions inherent in applying literature with a positivist orientation within a primarily qualitative study is discussed in the Methodology Chapter (7) which follows this chapter.

It must be stated that my application of the expectations-disconfirmation literature in my analysis is not done so to ascertain how to *manipulate* expectations to improve or maintain satisfaction levels in the face of poor service provision. Its usefulness in my analysis comes from the way it enabled understanding of my participants' expectations, how they managed these, with what information and from whom and the effectiveness of this. Thus, it is applied in the context of this research to identify ways in which place-making professionals can better meet citizen's expectations.

6.2. The Expectations Literature

The expectations research seeks to examine the relationship between expectations and levels of satisfaction to identify the extent of any causal links (for example see Oliver 1977, 1980, 1993; 2014; Cadotte *et al* 1987). If causal links can be identified, then it may be possible to manipulate expectations to improve levels of satisfaction. Richard Oliver developed the expectations-disconfirmation model (EDM) which expresses consumer satisfaction as a function of expectation and expectancy disconfirmation (1977). Expectations are the standard for evaluating performance, creating a frame of reference about which a comparative judgement is made, representing beliefs and predictions about a product performance (Oliver 1977 p. 480). Oliver asserted that expectations were formed on the basis of beliefs of probable outcomes combined with evaluation of outcomes (Oliver 1980 p. 462). Expectancy disconfirmation happens when expectations are not met. Disconfirmation may be negative or positive, so below the reference point or above it. The extent to which we are satisfied is resultant of the extent to which our expectations have been met. Satisfaction levels then, are a combination of expectation and disconfirmation levels and are believed to influence purchasing behaviour (Oliver 1980 p. 461). A simplified diagrammatical representation of Oliver's model is below;

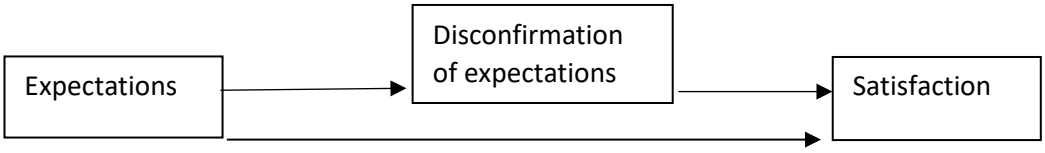

Diagram 2 Adapted from Oliver 1980

There are different levels of expectations which relate to a hierarchy of expectations (Groholdt 2015 p.110-111). At the top sits ideal expectations, reflecting a perfect, excellent standard. This is followed by normative expectations reflecting ideas of what ought to happen, based on little or no experience or information. The most frequently expressed and used by researchers is predictive expectations, which is what people think will happen based on all available information. The minimally tolerable expectation sits at the bottom level of acceptable quality. The worst possible expectation is the worst possible outcome that can be imagined and sits outside the above zone of tolerance. Measures of the gap between expectations and perceived quality can be done by a subtractive disconfirmation, which is the perceived quality rating minus the expectations rating or by perceived disconfirmation, which is the subjective evaluation of difference between perceived quality and expectations (Groholdt 2015 p. 111). More recent research seeks to replicate previous studies in order to validate the constructs and the general principles of the theory (for example see Van Ryzin 2004; 2006; Brown *et al* 2008; James 2009; 2011a, 2011b; Van Ryzin 2013; James and Mosely 2014; Petrovsky *et al* 2017; Filtenborg *et al* 2017; Grimmelikhuijsen and Porumbescu 2017; Hjortskov 2019).

Van Ryzin conducted three separate studies to test the validity of the EDM to ascertain its applicability in determining citizen satisfaction with a range of urban public services using existing survey data (2004, 2006, 2013). Van Ryzin found that expectations with disconfirmation and performance both affect satisfaction, the former the most (2004 p. 442). He suggests maintaining high levels of expectations whilst also delivering high performance. He argues that cultivating low expectations, for example in the context of budget cuts, would not result in maintaining high levels of satisfaction because there is an overall net effect of the combination of expectations with performance. In his 2006 study, he found differences between the types of measures used to test disconfirmation, with subtractive disconfirmation supporting his previous study, although only half as large an effect, and perceived disconfirmation measures offering no support for his previous study (2006 p. 599). The implications of this are that the way in which disconfirmation is measured, matters and Van Ryzin's suggestion of raising expectations in his previous study is not supported in this one (2006 p. 609). Van Ryzin employs an experimental design in his 2013 study in which participants are randomly assigned to high or low expectations and high or low performance of a hypothetical government official in relation to the service of street cleanliness in an

online survey experiment (2013 p. 597). His findings support his previous work although he warns results may be different where judgements are based on more ambiguous or complex performance information, such as crime rates, school performance or quality of life indices (2013 p. 610). This offers important considerations in thinking about how people judge satisfaction with their communities in the current study which may involve such ambiguous or complex information and where there are multiple institutional actors. Flitenborg *et al* (2017) found the expectations-performance-satisfaction relationship to be stronger when making judgements about a service which has salience for people. If a service has salience for favourable reasons, this may result in being judged less harshly and achieve higher levels of satisfaction.

In a similar vein, James has pursued the expectations research as applied to urban services and the performance of local government, with similar results. James (2009) looks at the role of anchoring in influencing levels of satisfaction. Anchoring refers to the way in which citizens use their prior expectations as a starting point or baseline when making a satisfaction judgement, separately from any disconfirmation influence (James 2009). Satisfaction judgements tend to anchor on this baseline regardless of any disconfirmation or performance, especially if the subject of the evaluation is ambiguous or difficult. In the context of this research, participants may use their experiences of other communities as a baseline from which to judge their current one. James found that the probability of being satisfied rises as expectations of service quality are perceived to be increasingly met and exceeded, while unmet expectations result in dissatisfaction. However, this relationship was not symmetrical and the likelihood of being dissatisfied diminished more quickly than the likelihood of being satisfied grew (2009 p. 119). Because of the anchoring effect on very high expectations, James suggests that local authorities might work to lower these in order to raise satisfaction levels. Such a strategy could include the provision of information to citizens about difficulties affecting service provision, such as problematic economic conditions or budget constraints imposed by outsiders, for example central government (2009 p. 119). This suggests that if there were, for example, delays in the provision of facilities in the communities in this research, the provision of information could be used manage people's expectations and maintain satisfaction levels. This strategy runs counter to Van Ryzin's findings in 2004 (see above).

James asserts that the provision of information, if the source is perceived as credible, can influence satisfaction (2011a, 2011b). James found that a cue about

relatively good performance raises citizens' perceived performance and satisfaction and a cue about relatively bad performance lowers perceived performance and satisfaction. In other words, if we are given reason to have low/high expectations through the provision of information, that becomes the frame through which we then perceive performance and rate our satisfaction. However, in subsequent research, James found that the provision of information as a strategy to manage expectations is only effective for positive expectations, not normative expectations (2011b). In other words, the provision of information can alter what people think *will* happen but not what people think *should* happen. Normative expectations were resilient to the provision of information although James found a relationship between high normative expectations and prior performance but no relationship between poor or excellent performance and low normative expectations (2011b p. 1432). In other words, if we have low expectations on what we think should happen, a great performance or poor performance will not alter this. For example, if the participants in this research have low expectations about what parish councils should do, then parish councils doing more would not necessarily result in greater satisfaction, although that may depend on what 'doing more' entailed.

James and Mosely (2014) look at the extent to which relative and absolute information might impact on perceptions of performance and satisfaction judgements and trigger citizen voice in response (defined as participation in a consultation exercise). They conclude that that information about low performance lowers perceptions about performance, while information about high performance raises them for both relative and absolute information (2014 p. 502). James and Mosely found a negativity bias in relation to satisfaction, with information about low performance decreasing satisfaction, but without high performance information increasing satisfaction (2014 p. 505). Perceptions of high relative performance increased perceptions of accountability for performance of service providers but not for low performance (2014 p. 506). Perceptions of accountability could be related to the extent to which participants believed low performance (or high) was a result of factors within the control of those responsible for performance. For example, the recession halted construction work in one of the communities in this research, a factor clearly outside the control of the developers. The findings by James (2014) suggests that providing information to explain delays, low performance, would result in decreased satisfaction. James considered four scenarios where information about service delivery was absent, or managed by a politician, private firm or delegated local government unit (2016 p. 83). Where information was provided, the

risk of apportioning blame was the lowest when service delivery failure leading to unmet expectations was managed by a delegated unit within the local government agency. Providing no information about service delivery failure carried the lowest risk of blame (2016 p. 89). James says that adopting a strategy to reduce blame, such as the delegation within the local government agency, may help manage "citizens' behavioural responses following from failure" (2016 p. 89).

James and Van Ryzin (2017) found that perceptions of credibility and political attractiveness of the organisation providing the information, influences satisfaction judgements and especially if the organisation is self-reporting about good performance. For example, if there are two opposing organisations, such as 'evil' developer and 'friendly' parish council, then people may view information from the 'friendly' parish council as more credible and more so if reported by an independent source (James and Van Ryzin 2017). This focus on who is providing the information as an important factor in managing expectations has been highlighted in research by Franklin and Marsden (2015) discussed in Chapter 4**.** They suggest the use of a 'credible intermediary', that is, someone who can maintain a degree of neutrality between the different institutional actors. In doing so the aim is to manage people's expectations in relation to what can be realistically achieved with finite resources (Franklin and Marsden 2015 p.12). These findings on the use of information to manage expectations offers a useful way of examining the extent to which participants in my research had access to information, from whom and how they used it, or not, in managing their own expectations with regards to how they judged the satisfaction with their communities.

6.3. Limitations of Expectations

While the expectations literature offers a useful lens through which to interpret and analyse my data theme on expectations, it is not without limitations, many of which are identified by the authors themselves. All of the above are experiments not real world/real life situations and people may behave differently if they are not taking part in research, when their actions have a real-world impact and especially for them directly, rather than a hypothetical situation.

There are a number of factors which could impact on people's expectations and the extent to which these are met that the expectations literature does not seem to have

considered. People may only give superficial consideration if responding to an experiment or see themselves as passive recipients or not directly affected. For example, for parents, schools may be of greater importance and relevance than to non-parents and therefore responses to questions about services which are more relevant may be taken more seriously or may have an impact on the likelihood of having expectations met. Regardless of the service in question, participants may frame their expectations by the perceived direct impact on them personally before any other factors. Certain elements of their ideal, imagined community may be more or less salient to them, for example missing shops or proportions of different housing tenure, or may come to the fore at different times. The issue of saliency could also relate to differences between short and long-term expectations, which is not discussed in the expectations literature.

Research by Allen, Birch and Sarmiento-Mirwaldt (2018) discuss the effect of 'anchoring' (James 2009) in the context of perceptions of integrity in political life. They argue that if individuals hold values such as honesty as important, then they feel more aggrieved by perceptions of wrongdoing (p. 513). Dissatisfaction comes from a perceived afront to their values, rather than as a measure of dissatisfaction with a service per se. In the context of my research, if a participant holds a belief that if there should be a leading role for private enterprise in the creation of communities, then that individual may be more likely to express satisfaction that this role is fulfilled, rather than making a judgement about the quality of that provision. Allen, Birch and Sarmiento-Mirwaldt (2018) further suggest that individuals may make trade-offs between integrity and competence, for example tolerating lower levels of honesty if it means their politicians are more effective (2018 pp. 514-516). Judgements about satisfaction then are about the weight that individuals attach to certain qualities, rather than about performance. Factors such as those outlined by Allen, Birch and Sarmiento-Mirwaldt (2018) are not discussed in the expectations literature. Such complexities in how expectations are formed and the impact on satisfaction levels do not seem to be adequately captured in the expectations literature discussed in the previous section.

The notion that people may make trade-offs is discussed by Yüksel and Yüksel whereby a strong attribute compensates for a weaker attribute and so overall satisfaction levels remain high (2001 p. 116). In the context of my research, participants who expressed dissatisfaction with certain elements of their communities, such as the provision of shops, may have compensated for this with

other aspects of their community leading to an overall judgement of satisfaction and seeing their community as successful.

Participants' responses in the expectations research may vary depending on how they see themselves in relation to the service about which they are being asked. For example, respondents may see themselves as passive recipients of services such as street cleanliness and waste collection and so have little investment in or attachment to it. People may also have different expectations depending on the consequences of a service performing poorly or not as they expect. For example, the consequences of the occasional missed waste collection are quite different to poorly performing police or fire services. The outcome of these differences may be that satisfaction is harder to come by or some services judged more harshly than others. Yüksel and Yüksel (2001) question the main assumption of the expectation-disconfirmation model that people will experience satisfaction if their expectations are met or exceeded. They suggest that in situations where people are forced to accept an inferior service, they may not necessarily experience disconfirmation of expectations. This is because the inferior service is as it was expected to be, so the expectations are met yet people may be dissatisfied (2001 p.115).

Allen, Birch and Sarmiento-Mirwaldt suggest that an expectations gap arises from citizens holding *unreasonably* high expectations compared to what politics can realistically deliver (my emphasis) (2018 p.526). The idea that expectations are reasonable or realistic compared to what can be achieved is not sufficiently discussed in the expectations literature. The research by James (2009; 2011a, 2011b; 2014; 2016) and Van Ryzin (2004) outlined in the previous section discuss high and low expectations and how to manipulate them to maintain satisfaction levels, but the extent to which expectations may be reasonable or realistic in the first place is not discussed. Considerations of the extent to which expectations may be reasonable or realistic given what can be achieved offers an alternative way of thinking about how to manage and better meet expectations. For example, it may be reasonable for community members to expect provision of a supermarket or other facilities, especially if they have been provided with information to say this *would* be the case. However, it may not be reasonable to expect provision of such businesses before there are sufficient numbers of residents to support businesses and make them viable.

Seeking to manage or manipulate expectations could be interpreted as a strategy to improve or maintain satisfaction without improving service provision or performance, as highlighted and advised against by James (2009 p.108). This would suggest that in seeking to manage expectations then, the aim would be to 'force' people to accept an inferior service or performance but still have their expectations met and therefore maintain levels of satisfaction. That is not the aim of applying the expectations literature to inform my analysis in this study. Rather, the application of the expectations literature can help develop greater understanding of how expectations are formed, the factors which influence these and the extent to which participants see them as met, to understand what place-making professionals can do to better meet them. My research aims to show this.

6.4. Summary

This section has introduced a body of literature which did not form part of my initial literature review. This discussion of the expectations literature here is offered in order to draw attention to the way in which it informed development of the analysis theme of *Expectations* and the limitations of its application. The expectations literature discussed above was investigated as a result of the data analysis and the way in which the themes were developed. Although originating in consumer satisfaction, the key ideas of the expectations literature offer a useful lens through which to analyse and interpret my data within the *Expectations* theme. The use of this body of literature in the context of place-making and community is a new application. The findings and analysis related to the theme of *Expectations* are discussed in Chapter 9.

The review of the literature thus far points to a number of areas of investigation to address the main research study aim of examining the extent to which policy aspirations of successful communities align with the lived experience of community members. Chapter 4 discussed the ways in which successful communities are defined in policy, the extent to which these have been achieved and the changing political terrain in which this happens. Participation of community members in the creation and maintenance of community emerged as a crucial factor in creating successful communities. Continuing with the focus on participation, Chapter 5

looked at the ways in which participation happens in practice, highlighting the challenges and limitations of how participation is facilitated. The current chapter has introduced the concept of 'expectations' as it relates to how community members define a successful community. Details of the research questions arising from the literature review chapters and how these are addressed are discussed in my Methodology Chapter which follows.

7. Methodology

7.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an outline of the methodological choices in this research and an explanation of the rationale for these choices. The chapter begins with a discussion of how the research came about and how the research questions were developed. This is followed by a discussion of my decision to employ a qualitative research design for my study followed by my choice of research methods, sampling and ethics. A commentary on the effectiveness and challenges of these is provided. My approach to data analysis and the development of my themes are discussed in the final section.

7.2. Development of the Research Questions

The aim of this section is to provide an account of my approach to developing and addressing the study's research questions. As discussed in Chapter 1, the catalyst for this research was the amount of planned growth in the Cambridgeshire sub-region over the next 20 years. However, my interest in 'community' began much earlier during my career as a community worker (and resident and activist) in the area adjacent to one of the research sites (Orchard Park) and later as a Social Policy lecturer teaching and researching community work, neighbourhood regeneration and the policy and political context in which they developed. As a resident and community worker, I was interested in contrasting views of my community between insiders and outsiders. King's Hedges and Arbury were, and remain, two of the most deprived wards in Cambridge (Cambridge City Council 1996; 2019) and have longstanding reputations as 'rough' and 'dangerous' (Pilgrim 2017). These labels of deprivation and danger did not tally with my own lived experience as a resident and community worker, nor with those of other residents with whom I worked and resided. King's Hedges and Arbury did not *feel* unsafe or deprived to us. From this, I became interested in how such divergent views of the same place could exist, how they came about, how 'bad' place reputations could be challenged and changed to be seen and experienced as 'good' and successful. It was through my teaching and research during my career in HE that I was able to focus and channel my interest into developing the current study to examine the

notion of ‘successful communities’ and the policies to create them. This developed into my initial overall research aim and my review of the literature from which subsequent questions to address this aim were developed.

My overall research aim then is to examine what makes a successful community and the extent to which the policy aspirations to create them correspond with the lived experience of community members. To address this, it is necessary to determine *how successful communities are conceived of in policies to create them*. In other words, how successful communities are defined in policy. The review of community building policies in Chapter 4 indicates that from the perspective of policymakers, successful communities are those in which people want to live and work, contain a range of community amenities, mixed housing tenure, engender a sense of belonging and provide opportunities for community members to participate in their creation and maintenance. However, this review revealed that what is deemed a successful community in policy does not necessarily accord with community members’ lived experience. This suggests that the policy aspirations of a successful community do not align with community members’ conceptions and experiences of successful communities. Community members do not necessarily experience the policy aspirations as successful. Two questions arise from this. First, *how do community members experience community building policies, if not as successful?* Second*, what is a successful community as defined by members?*

The review of the literature and community building policies in chapters 4 and 5 indicate that community members’ participation in the creation and maintenance of communities are important for their successful creation. However, it is highlighted in the literature review that participation of community members in the creation and maintenance of their communities was not always achieved. Reasons for this are attributed to the opportunities for participation afforded to community members, which focus on established and formal modes of participation and have been found to be ineffective in engaging those beyond the pool of ‘usual suspects’. Participation in, for example, the development of parish plans did not necessarily result in the creation of a shared vision of ‘community’ between community members and place-making professionals. A further research question which emerges from this then is; *how do community members participate in the creation and maintenance of their communities?*

To summarise then, my research questions are:

How are successful communities conceived of in community building policies?

How do people living in communities experience community building policies?

What is a successful community as defined by community members?

In what ways do community members participate in the creation and maintenance of their communities?

How can any gaps between policy aspiration and lived experience be bridged?

These questions suggested the views of community members themselves are critical. The literature has suggested that the views of community members on how community is made has been largely absent in the theorising of community and in community building policies (Little 2002; Wallace 2010). Little and Wallace, along with Yerbury, argue that contemporary theorising of community must be understood primarily in the context of community members' everyday lived experiences (Yerbury 2011). Therefore, the focus of my research in answering the research questions and addressing the gaps identified in the literature is the perspectives of community members themselves in how they define, create and maintain 'community' in the context of their everyday lived experiences.

7.3. The Study Design

The focus on individual's everyday lived experiences lends itself to a qualitative research design. Qualitative research is interested in meaning and "involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world" where researchers attempt to "make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin and Lincoln 2011 cited in Creswell and Poth 2018 p.7). According to Denzin and Lincoln, qualitative research stresses the socially constructed nature of reality and seeks to answer questions of how social experience is created and given meaning (1998 p. 8). The aim is to understand the "views, opinions and perceptions of people as they are experienced and expressed in everyday life" (Pfeifer 2000 cited in Sarantakos 2005 p. 40). My research interest is in how people make sense of 'community' and the meanings they attach to this. Braun and Clarke assert that a qualitative approach is more suitable than a quantitative approach when the aim of

research is to understand people's meanings. They argue that such an approach allows for a deeper, richer understanding of the complexities of people's meanings and experiences (2013 p. 24). Within qualitative research, reality is considered to be subjective, multiple and diverse (Sarantakos 2005 p. 41). I am not aiming to uncover a single objective reality of what a 'successful community' means for my participants nor do I believe that is possible, although certainly shared, collective meanings are possible. Rather, my position is that there are multiple realities of 'community' which are subjective and are culturally and historically situated. Indeed, in order to capture the "rich tapestry of people's lives", the "thick, rich descriptions" of the socio-political, cultural and historical context in which they arise are important factors to be incorporated in the analysis (Braun and Clarke 2013 p. 24). Therefore, my research emphasises the subjective views and experiences of community members themselves and the context in which they occur.

There is no single qualitative methodology and qualitative research may employ a range of designs (Braun and Clarke 2013). A case study approach was considered in the early stages of the research, given my focus on specific communities, and as such a range of case study literature was examined. While a 'community' is considered a valid case in the literature, my research was not aiming to compare the characteristics of these communities or make other comparisons across these communities, as is described in the case study literature (Yin 2009). Nor was I aiming to analyse the communities holistically as bounded cases as is characteristic of case study design (Denscombe 2010; Thomas 2011). Rather my focus is on the experiences of individuals within these communities. The use of the case study as a research strategy did not feel necessary to achieve my research aims, therefore I chose not to employ a case study design.

The choice of methodology and study design is also influenced by the researcher's ontological and epistemological positions. Denzin and Lincoln argue that all qualitative researchers are guided by highly abstract principles which combine beliefs about ontology (the nature of reality), epistemology (the relationship between the inquirer and the known) and methodology (how knowledge is gained), which shape how the researcher sees the world and acts in it (1998 p. 26). Together these, also termed paradigms, act as interpretive frameworks or a "basic set of beliefs that guides action" (Guba 1990 cited in Denzin and Lincoln 1998 p. 26). Grix notes three broad research paradigms; positivism, postpositivism and interpretivism; in which inquiry moves from attempts to explaining reality to understanding reality.

However, Grix points out that these may overlap as interpretivists may seek explanations and positivists "would hope their analysis help us to understand social phenomena" so any distinctions should be taken only as a guide (Grix 2004 p. 79). Qualitative research design sits within a constructionist ontology and interpretivist epistemology (Sarantakos 2005 p. 30), although Denzin and Lincoln note that it was historically defined within the positivist tradition (Denzin and Lincoln 1998 p.9). As discussed above, such research is carried out to understand reality as it is subjectively constructed and experienced within its social, cultural and historical context. Qualitative research seeks to retain the context in which research takes place, seeing it as not as a bias to be eliminated, rather it is an important framework within which knowledge is produced (Braun and Clarke 2013 p. 21).

On the other hand, quantitative research tends to separate the object of research from its context, known as "context striping" (Denzin and Lincoln 1998 p.197). This speaks to the goal of obtaining "uncontaminated knowledge" by removing all biases in order to achieve objectivity, a key principle of quantitative research (Sarantakos 2005 p. 34; Braun and Clarke 2013 p.21). Quantitative research design sits within the positivist paradigm, containing a realist/objectivist ontology and an empiricist epistemology (Sarantakos 2005 p. 30). Research on community within a quantitative design may seek to uncover some single objective truth about the nature of 'community' and this was not the intention of my research, so such a position did not align with my aims.

Postpositivism, containing a critical realist ontology, is located between positivism and interpretivism and seeks to combine explanation and understanding, so is compatible with a wide range of research methods (Denzin and Lincoln 1998 p. 205; Grix 2004 p. 87). Grix aligns interpretivism with postpositivism (p. 79). Postpositivism shares a belief with positivism that there exists an objective reality, but unlike positivism, believes this can only be apprehended imperfectly. As such, it relies on multiple methods to capture as much of reality as possible and sees structure and agency as mutually constitutive (Denzin and Lincoln 1998 p. 9; Grix 2004 p. 87). Research within this paradigm would incorporate both objectivist and subjectivist approaches (Robson 2002 p. 35). I aimed to give the subjective experiences of my participants priority so the postpositivist paradigm, although appealing in some way, was not entirely consistent with my research aims.

Within each of these paradigms are many variations of approaches to inquiry but they tend to subscribe to the same broad principles. Grix argues that research paradigms are not clear-cut, noting that different disciplinary perspectives draw on similar ontological and epistemological roots and share similar foundational assumptions, thus blurring the sharp distinctions often made (2004 pp. 97-99). The topic of combining of different paradigms within a single project is one that is debated. For example, Grix argues that positivist and interpretive paradigms are incompatible because of their opposing views of the nature of reality and therefore cannot be combined within one study (2004 p. 82). However, Sarantakos disagrees and argues that it is possible to combine interpretive and positivist paradigms within the same study. He refers to this as paradigm triangulation and states that it is possible to produce data within a qualitative study which can be analysed and interpreted within a qualitative perspective (2005 p. 48). Similarly, Roth and Mehta (2002) advocate the use of interpretive and positivist analysis within the same project:

> Interpretive understanding of communities is always informed by a number of hard, objective facts, which help the analyst make sense of the subjective viewpoints of their respondents. (2002 p. 138)

This discussion is relevant to my research because, although my research is primarily positioned within an interpretive paradigm, I have applied research from a positivist/experimental orientation to inform some of my analysis (see Chapter 6). Whilst it should be acknowledged that much of the research in this area stems from a different philosophical approach, it nevertheless offers insights on an under-researched topic.

Creswell notes that while we may not always be aware of our philosophical assumptions and beliefs, we always bring them to our research, guiding which topics we investigate, our choice of theories, which questions we ask and how we gather our data (Creswell and Poth 2018 p. 15). Grix argues that making our assumptions explicit in research is vital “if we are to present clear, precise and logical work, and engage and debate with others’ work” (2004 p. 57), although Sarantakos points out that doing so tends to be the exception rather than the rule (Sarantakos 2005 p. 31).

In positioning my own research, this aligned more closely with the interpretative paradigm within which qualitative research design is most commonly located. This

is not because I hold a belief that one is superior to the other, as has often been debated in the literature (see for example Denzin and Lincoln 1998; Robson 2002; Sarantakos 2005), rather a qualitative research design is more appropriate for my research focus on how community members define, create and maintain 'community' in the context of their everyday lived experiences. Discussion shall now turn to the data collection methods used to answer the research questions.

7.4. Research Methods

A total of 18 participants were recruited with whom in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted. My sample size of 18 participants could be perceived as small. However, Patton (2002 p. 244) asserts there are "no rules" for sample size in qualitative research, which tends to have smaller samples than quantitative research (cited in Braun and Clarke 2013). In an examination of 560 theses of interview-based qualitative research, Mason (2010) found variance in sample size from 1 to 95 (cited in Bryman 2012 p. 426). Braun and Clarke suggest that it is common for qualitative research to have samples sizes of between 15 and 30 individual interviews (Braun and Clarke 2013 p. 59). Denscombe asserts that rather than sample size in qualitative research, what matters is how *informative* the sample is in generating sufficient information (emphasis in original) (Denscombe 2010 p. 41). Interviews lasted between approximately 45 minutes and just under 2 hours, with a mean average of 74 minutes. Bryman asserts that it should not be assumed that shorter interviews are inferior to longer ones and even short interviews can be revealing (Bryman pp. 483-484).

Interviews are one of the most widely used methods of data collection in qualitative research (Sarantakos 2005 p. 270; Bryman 2012 p. 469). Interviews are advantageous in their adaptability to a range of situations. In addition, they enable researchers to verify participants' responses, which aids the credibility and trustworthiness of the study (Bryman 20102 p. 390). These concepts are discussed more fully in the *Quality* section further below. There are some limitations to the use of interviews. Denscombe notes concerns around interviewer affect, whereby the data is affected by the participants' perceptions of the personal identity of the researcher (Denscombe 2010 p,178). In addressing such concerns Denscombe suggests the researcher adopt a "passive and neutral style" which is more likely to

encourage participants to respond fully and honestly (Denscombe 2010 p. 179). The interviews typically began with the collection of information on participant's occupation, age, housing tenure and length of residence. As well as collecting important information about the participants, this enabled some time at the beginning of the interviews for participants to feel comfortable in talking (Denscombe 2010 p. 185). The ordering of questions is important in eliciting responses and establishing rapport. Denscombe suggests beginning with the least complex, sensitive and personal issues to avoid deterring participants from speaking (Denscombe 2010 p. 164). On a few occasions, participants began speaking immediately, while preparation for the interviews were underway and before the recording equipment had been switched on. When this happened, the participants were asked to return to the points they were making.

Open-ended questions were used in the interviews to encourage participants to speak freely and at length to capture the "richness and complexity" of their views (Denscombe 2010 p. 165), beginning with "tell me about your experiences of living here". This enabled them to identify themes and issues that they identified as relevant and interpreted in their own ways, rather than trying to impose my own interpretations, categories or other typifications of community. I remained as unobtrusive as possible, only probing and prompting participants for more elaborate responses when necessary or if they sought clarification. Braun and Clarke note the usefulness of silence in interviews and see them as giving participants "permission to continue" as long as the silence is not so long as to make the participant feel uncomfortable (Braun and Clarke 2013 pp.96-97).

Interviews were recorded where consent was given. One participant, a community worker, did not consent to have the interview recorded, stating that she was "uncomfortable" in being recorded. The wishes of the participant were respected and no further attempts to persuade her otherwise were made. Extensive notes were made using a laptop during the interview. Bryman suggests taking notes as well during interviews even when they are recorded as added security in case hardware malfunctions (2012 p. 284). As well as recording all but one interview, notes were taken. In addition, note-taking during interviews can help if there are outside noises which interfere with the interview or recording quality is poor (Denscombe 2010 p.276). There was noise interference with one interview which was conducted in a café and had become increasingly busy, and noisy, over the

course of the interview. This made transcription of this interview challenging. The addition of notes taken during the interview helped clarify some parts of the interview.

The interviews were transcribed verbatim, and Braun and Clarke suggest doing your own transcription is an excellent way of beginning the familiarisation with your data (2006 p. 87). Similarly, Denscombe argues that the process of transcription should not be seen as a trivial chore to be tagged on once the "real" business of interviewing has been completed. Rather it is a valuable part of the research in bringing the researcher "close to the data" (2010 p.275). Transcription is a time-consuming process and can be a costly one to outsource (Bryman 2012 p. 484). The decision to do one's own transcription then may a trade-off between saving time or saving money. The decision to do my own transcription was driven by a motivation to become immersed in the data rather than financial considerations or those of time.

Utterances and pauses were not indicated, save for one occurrence where two members of the parish council paused in their speaking, turned to each other and made an exclamation. Notations of utterances, pauses and turn-taking are employed in approaches such as conversation and discourse analysis where there is a detailed focus on language (Bryman 2012 p. 482). Such detail is unnecessary in my research as there was not a detailed focus on language.

7.5. Ethics

There are ethical concerns to be considered in any primary research, such as informed consent, confidentiality and privacy and risk of harm. In my research, ethical approval was obtained from Anglia Ruskin University and data collection was carried out in accordance with ethical guidelines. All participants were provided with information about the research and consent forms with contact information. Participants were given a copy of their signed consent form and informed of their choice to withdraw from the research at any time. None chose to withdraw. Participants were informed about the intention to disseminate the results of the research and that all identifying information relating to participants will be removed prior to dissemination so as not to link any information with individuals. All participants were given pseudonyms which appear in the text when using interview extracts. Interviews were digitally recorded with participant's permission, with one

refusal. The risk of harm or distress likely to be experienced by participants was considered to be very low as the topics being discussed are unlikely to be viewed as sensitive or otherwise generate feelings of distress, although not impossible. For example, it is conceivable that, in recounting their experiences of living in a particular community, a participant may have had negative experiences related to their perceived gender, sexual orientation, religion, ethnicity or other characteristic. No participants expressed any such experiences. Had any done so, the interviews would have been stopped immediately and participants directed to appropriate support services.

Some of the interviews took place in a public place. Conducting interviews in public places could raise ethical issues, especially around the anonymity of the participant and their confidentiality. The public venues in which some of the interviews took place were suggested by the participants themselves. This suggests that the participants were comfortable with being interviewed in a public place. Participants were asked before the interviews began if they were happy to proceed in the public venue. All the participants agreed to continue in the public venues and were advised that they could change their minds at any time during the interviews. Had the participants showed any discomfort or distress arising from being interviewed in a public place, the interviews would have been terminated and alternate arrangements discussed.

It was decided not to anonymise the research sites. There are cases made for both anonymising sites and identifying the locations in which research takes place. In identifying research locations, there are concerns that participants may be identifiable. Steps were taken to protect the identities of the participants, such as using pseudonyms and omitting some personal information which would enable identification. Crow and Wiles argue that the identification of a community does not pose great ethical problems as long as the research participants anonymity is safeguarded (2008 p. 9). This was the approach taken by Savage *et al* (2005) in which they identified the research locations, but provided pseudonyms for their participants. Furthermore, there is value to be added in providing the social context in which research has taken place. Identifying the research sites was considered important in providing the specific context in which the research takes place given the growth in the local area and the potential for transferrable lessons.

7.6. Research Sites

Initially, three areas were selected in which to carry out interviews, comprising Orchard Park, Cambridge; Cambourne, Cambridgeshire; and Trumpington Meadows, Cambridge. Trumpington Meadows was later de-selected because of difficulties in recruiting participants. Given the small number recruited from this location, it is not envisaged that this will have a detrimental impact on the data or in achieving the research aims. Orchard Park has been selected because research has identified this development as a successful community (see Falk and Carley 2012). However, discussions from Orchard Park residents in an online community forum and anecdotal evidence suggest that residents' views are in stark contrast to those of the place-makers (Warren 2008). Writing in the *Guardian,* Germaine Greer reports that locals referred to Orchard Park as 'Beirut', amid a landscape of poorly constructed housing, unclaimed rubbish and "truckloads of silver sand" (2009). This suggests different ideas about what constitutes 'successful' from the perspective of communities themselves and those designing and implementing them. Cambourne is included because there are mixed views about the success of this development, from both residents and planners (see for example Platt 2007; Hume 2012). There are reports of something akin to the 'new town blues' experienced by newcomers to the new towns during the 60s-70s in Cambourne (Woodcraft *et al* 2011). Early in its development there was a lag between residents moving in and the provision of several services. For example, in Cambourne the number of primary schools needed was grossly underestimated and the town had no secondary school until recently, despite needing one, meaning that children had to attend secondary schools in neighbouring villages.

These areas were chosen because of their location in Cambridgeshire and the East of England as areas which are experiencing unprecedented growth. Cambridge city has plans for 14,000 homes by 2031, to the south the Southern Fringe includes 4000 homes and to the north Waterbeach will have 6500 homes and there will be a new town, Northstowe comprising 10,000 homes upon completion. Orchard Park will have 1200 homes upon completion and Cambourne, initially with a plan of 3300 homes, has an extension for an additional 2350 homes. Given the extent of these developments, these locations seemed appropriate and fruitful places from which to recruit and investigate my research topic.

These areas are also chosen because of their intrinsic interest to me and their close geographical location. I have contacts who can act as gatekeepers within these

areas to facilitate access to potential participants. While matters of convenience should not be the primary reason for research, it is necessary to ensure that any research endeavour is possible and feasible (Denscombe 2012).

7.7. Sampling

A combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques were used, both of which are compatible with each other (Denscombe 2010). From the research sites, eight participants were recruited from Cambourne, eight from Orchard Park and two community workers, one representing each area. One participant had lived in both communities. Existing contacts were utilised who acted as a form of gatekeepers to gain access to potential participants. Initial enquiries with these gatekeepers on providing access to potential participants in the research areas were encouraging with assurances of ample potential respondents. A snowballing sampling technique was planned to recruit additional participants after the first few contacts were made. This sampling technique met with some success in recruiting participants, resulting in five additional participants. Very few participants were able to suggest others who might have been willing to take part. For some who were able to suggest potential additional participants, when contact was made and details of the research explained, they either declined or did not respond to the invitation to participate. There are limitations of using snowball sampling. The suggestion of further participants rests on the judgement of existing participant about the perceived suitability of additional participants. There is a possibility of ending up with a sample of like-minded people, which could be problematic if it is a diversity of views that are sought.

One participant suggested joining an online community forum for Cambourne to recruit participants “because everyone in Cambourne is on there” (female Cambourne). The internet can be a valuable resource for research as both a site of research and in expanding the range of methods and participants available to researchers (Farrell et al 2010). Using web-based methods can make it possible to do research quicker and with less expense than traditional methods (Brickman 2012). The use of the internet in this research is not done in order to replace traditional methods, such as face-to-face interviewing, rather it is used to complement and strengthen existing methods. In Cambourne, the use of the internet was primarily for the purpose of recruiting participants. Although increasing in popularity and usage, there are challenges associated with using the internet for sampling. Sarantakos notes a bias in using the internet as a sampling technique in

relation to population demographics because internet usage in general tends to be lower among older people (2005 p 170). According to the ONS (2015) adults aged between 16-24 use the internet more than any other age group, with each successive older age group reporting lower rates of usage. Although 86% of households in Great Britain have an internet connection, in households where the adult is over the age 65, this comprises only 49% (ONS 2015 p 12). Others too point to a sample bias in relation to level of education and socioeconomic status, both of which tend to be higher among internet users (Baltar 2012; Brickman 2012). Such a bias could also lead to an underrepresentation of those who lacked the necessary technological skills and equipment needed to access the internet (Brickman 2012). Of the households without internet access, 31% indicated this was because of a lack of computer skills, 14% cited cost of equipment and 12% the cost of access (ONS 2015 p 13). Of my participants, one, in his early 50s, stated that the did not have internet access at home. These issues of population bias are acknowledged and these limitations can be mitigated by combining online sampling with traditional sampling techniques. For example, information leaflets with invitations to participate were placed on public notice boards in the local shops and in the community centre. These methods did not generate any participants.

Further challenges associated with using the internet as a research tool relate to 'spamming'. Spamming refers to unsolicited or unwanted electronic communications, such as emails, posts in online forums or on social networking sites, often marketing materials and sometimes market research. Sarantakos warns of the adverse effects the extensive use of spamming can have on the response of internet users to unsolicited invitations to participate in research (2005 p. 170). This is especially problematic with the use of online surveys and questionnaires (Baltar 2012). To reduce the likelihood of any invitations to participate in research being viewed as 'spam', upon joining the Cambourne online community forum, I sought permission from the group administrator/moderator before submitting any posts to the group and only proceeded when there were no objections. Such a request is seen as good 'netiquette' (Madge 2007 p. 663). Further suggestions for good 'netiquette' relate to the presentation and identification of the researcher. Madge (2007) suggests careful consideration of the wording of the subject header, to ensure the purpose of joining and posting in the group is clear to the members and a verifiable means of confirming the identity of the researcher. Following this, the subject header in my first post on the Cambourne forum was entitled 'Living in Cambourne'. In the body of the post, a brief outline of the

research was provided and members invited to make contact on the forum or via my Anglia email account, which would act as a means of verifying my identity. This generated 11 enquiries which resulted in five face-to-face interviews. Of those enquiries that did not result in interviews, one did not turn up at the arranged time and place of the scheduled interview and others either did not engage in any further correspondence after their initial inquiry or declaration of interest in the research or correspondence stopped when they were offered a range of times and days to be interviewed.

Non-participation and a reluctance to participate after expressing an interest initially could be for a range of reasons. A common reason for non-participation is time. Those who are busy with work, families and other activities may not be able to spare time to participate in research. This was a view expressed by one member of one of the community groups visited at Orchard Park. This is common in qualitative research where the depth and detail of material requires more time to engage than compared to a questionnaire or short survey (Clark 2008). For some, there may be 'research fatigue' as a result of continued or repeated research engagement, common in community research (Clark 2008). Upon introducing myself and my research at this same community group, another member stated quite assertively that they had already been involved in a lot of research and weren't really interested in participating in any more. Others here nodded in agreement but invited me to leave my details in case some should want to participate and so they could pass this information onto absent members. Such disengagement from research is further exacerbated when there is a lack of feedback or participants see little impact of their involvement in research (Clark 2008). In such cases participants are not hard to reach, but hard to convince. Conversely, it was precisely *because* of the difficulties in recruiting research participants that prompted one to volunteer to take part from Orchard Park.

The majority of the interviews were conducted in public places, such as cafes and coffee shops. Interviews conducted with the community workers and two of the parish council participants took place in their offices. For two participants who were known were already known to me, interviews were conducted in their homes. These venues were suggested by the participants and agreement gives participants a degree of autonomy and control in the research process. In addition, meeting in public places can help address concerns about personal safety. Although the research topic and locations of research are not considered sensitive or high risk, there is always some level of risk involved in carrying out research (Kenyon and

Hawker 1999). Bloor *et al* refer to ambient risks associated with being a lone female researcher and where respondents were men (Bloor *et al* 2010). It is important to acknowledge and recognise how the researcher's 'self' is intertwined with their research activity and be transparent about the impact on the production and analysis of qualitative data (Denscombe 2010 p. 302). This entails being 'reflexive', referred to here as "methodological self-consciousness" whereby there is a consideration of the relationships between researcher and those being researched (Lynch 2000 cited in Bryman 2012 p. 394).

The effectiveness of using the café for the some of the interviews was varied. The first two interviews were conducted and recorded without incident because the café although fairly busy, was quiet. By the third interview of the day the café had become busier and noisy, affecting the quality of the data collected. One of the interviews in Orchard Park took place in a public venue. This too was a café, although much less busy than that in Cambourne, and this venue was requested by the participant. Ethical considerations of conducting interviews in a public place are discussed in the *Ethics* section.

For Orchard Park, contact was made with a community worker there. Although it took some weeks for the community worker to reply to the invitation to participate in the research because of work pressures, she agreed to participate. The community worker directed me to the Orchard Park Community Council (OPCC) and their Facebook page. Contact was made with the community council via their Facebook page and an invitation to attend one of their meetings followed.

On the OPCC Facebook page was a notice for another meeting for K1 Housing Group. This is a co-housing group aiming to establish their own community within Orchard Park. This group was approached as well and I was invited to attend their meeting. Three participants were recruited from OPCC and K1. A notice was posted on the board in the Orchard Park community centre with details of the research and my contact details inviting people to take part in the research. This did not result in any participants.

In addition the OPCC Facebook, there is a Facebook page for the residents of Orchard Park, the aim of which is to "build and foster [our] community". Following the rules of 'netiquette' outlined above, contact was made with one of the group administrators, a request to join was made. The purpose of the request to join and the nature of the research was explained, and permission sought before posting. In the post a brief explanation of the research was provided and members invited to

make contact. This resulted in 2 participants, each of whom offered detailed accounts of living in Orchard Park. The table below provides participant information. Tenures included refer to owners (O), shared ownership (SO), private rent (PR) and social rent (SR). Two male participants did not disclose their age (n/d. The location of each community worker is not specified in order to prevent identification of them.

Orchard Park				**Cambourne**			
Name*	**Gender**	**Age**	**Tenure**	**Name***	**Gender**	**Age**	**Tenure**
Jane	Female	34	O	Craig	Male	37	O
Kathy	Female	50	SO	Simon	Male	34	O
Brian	Male	32	SO	Shaun	Male	34	O
Martin	Male	38	O	Cleo	Female	26	O
Wendy	Female	36	O	Theresa	Female	38	O
Benton PC	Male	n/d	O	Mike PC	Male	n/d	O
Veronica	Female	30	SO	Wilma PC	Female	50	O
[redacted]				Dave	Male	51	SO
Carly	Female	26	PR	Carly	Female	26	PR
Community Workers							
Ruth	Female	43	SR				
Belinda	Female	55	SR				

Table 2. Participant Information

Discussion shall now turn to the criteria which is used to judge the quality of research and that which has been applied in this study.

7.8. Quality Criteria

The ways in which the quality of qualitative research is determined have been the subject of much debate. These debates have led to the development of an alternative range of terminology which, proponents argue, is a more accurate appropriate way of judging the quality of qualitative research (Denscombe 2010; Bryman 2012). Lincoln and Guba (1985 p. 300) offer alternative terms such as credibility, authenticity, transferability, dependability and confirmability as the

“naturalist’s equivalents” for validity, reliability and objectivity (cited in Creswell and Poth 2018 p.256).

In quantitative research, the pursuance of validity is variously described as an attempt to “capture reality”, to arrive at an “overall truth” or to check that researchers have “got it right” (Silverman 2011 p. 370; Denscombe 2010 p. 299; Braun and Clarke 2013 p.280). Any claims seeking to establish one true reality or truth are problematic in qualitative research, which emphasises multiple realities and are “inappropriate to the theoretical logic of qualitative research” (Silverman 2011 p. 369). Validity or validation in qualitative research is described by Creswell and Poth as “an attempt to assess the ‘accuracy’ of the findings as best described by the researcher, the participant and the reader,” an account of which is “made through thick, rich descriptions and the closeness of the researcher to participants in the study” p.259.

There are a number of strategies which may be employed by qualitative researchers for validity. Member checking can involve taking data, analysis, interpretations and conclusions back to the participants so they may judge the accuracy and credibility of the account (Creswell and Poth 2018 p. 261). This strategy is fraught with difficulties. Bryman, citing Bloor (1997) notes that member validation may result in defensive reactions or even censorship. Furthermore, many question the assumption that participants have a “privileged” status and the extent to which participants can validate a researcher’s analysis, which is intended for a social science audience (Denscombe 2010; Bryman 2012 p. 391; Fielding and Fielding 1986 cited in Silverman 2013 p. 288; Braun and Clarke 2013 p. 285). Braun and Clarke note further practical difficulties, such as convincing participants to take part in an ‘extra’ process, the potential for member checking to generate contradictory feedback among participants and the potential limitlessness of the process (2013 p. 284). Member checking has not been carried out in this research for the reasons discussed above. Rather, validation of participants’ responses was sought during interviews with confirmatory questions such as ‘so, are you saying …?’ or ‘can I just check what you mean by…’ and repeating participant’s responses back to them at variable intervals. While Silverman says feedback is a good way to maintain contact with participants, he argues that it should not be confused with validation of the research findings (Silverman 2013 p. 288).

A validation strategy which was employed in this study, was the use of peer review whereby the researcher seeks an external check by someone who is familiar with

the research (Creswell and Poth 2018 p.263). Peer review involves asking the researcher “hard questions about the methods, meanings and interpretations” (Creswell and Poth 2018 p.263). I presented and discussed my interpretations, findings and analysis at regular peer review meetings with PhD colleagues and in supervisory meetings with my supervisors.

Wolcott is critical of validity, although he does not specify which type, stating that it “neither guides nor informs” his work and instead looks to identify” critical elements” from which “plausible interpretations” are written which aids understanding of the phenomenon under investigation (cited in Creswell and Poth 2018 p. 257). In a similar vein, Silverman suggests criteria of good quality research is that which thinks theoretically through and with data, develops empirically sound, reliable and valid findings, does so with methods that are demonstrably appropriate to the research problem and contributes to practice and policy (2013 p.322). This study demonstrates achievement of these criteria through the sustained and rigorous engagement with the relevant literature in the analysis and discussion of my findings, based on established and appropriate methods of data collection and which contribute to theoretical knowledge and policy. Braun and Clarke argue that it is ecological validity which is most relevant to qualitative research. Ecological validity refers to the relationship between the ‘real world’ and the research and the extent to which the research can be applied to real world settings (Braun and Clarke 2013 p. 280).

The extent to which the findings are transferrable to other cases or contexts, referred to as generalisability in quantitative research, is a topic often discussed in relation to qualitative research. It is often suggested that it is “impossible to know how the findings can be generalised” from, for example, qualitative research based on a small number of interviews in a certain locality, therefore limiting the scope (Bryman 2012 p. 406). Bryman argues that this is not the case. Rather than generalising to populations, qualitative research makes theoretical and analytical generalisations or moderatum generalisations (Mitchell 1983; Williams 2000; Yin 2009 cited in Bryman 2012 p. 406). Williams describes moderatum generalisations as aspects of X which can be seen to be instances of a broader recognisable set of features, following Schutz’s (1972) “lifeworld” are “the generalisations of everyday life” (2000 p. 215). Indeed, Braun and Clarke argue that there would be little point in doing research if the results of one study had no relevance to any other situation (2013 p. 280). Rather than discuss generalisability, Lincoln and Guba argue for transferability to describe the way in which qualitative research has relevance

outside the context of the particular study (Lincoln and Guba 1985 cited in Denscombe 2010 p. 301). Lincoln and Guba (1985) place responsibility on the reader to use the information provided about a study to determine the extent of transferability and in which contexts (cited in Denscombe 2010). The key to enhancing transferability is to describe the specific contexts, participants, settings and circumstances of the study in sufficient detail to enable the reader to see how such conclusions were arrived at and make a judgement about transferability (Braun and Clarke 2013 p. 282). The above discussion points to the importance of engaging with appropriate standards by which to assess the quality of qualitative research and identifies some of the limitations of these. Transparency in the way these are applied in research is important in enabling others to assess the relevance and quality of research. Discussion shall now turn to the way in which data analysis was carried out.

7.9. Data Analysis

This section discusses the way in which analysis was carried out and offers illustrative examples of coding and how they contribute to the development of the data themes.

Thematic analysis, as developed by Braun and Clarke (2013) was employed in this study. The main strength of thematic analysis is its flexibility. Thematic analysis can be used to answer almost any type of research questions and can be used within a wide range of theoretical frameworks. Braun and Clarke laud its flexibility in providing a "rich and detailed, yet complex account of data" (2006 p.78). Given its flexibility and appropriateness for in-depth qualitative interviews, thematic analysis was deemed most appropriate.

Thematic analysis is a "method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" and is widely used (Braun and Clarke 2006 p. 79). My approach to the data analysis was largely data driven, in that I sought to develop analysis from the bottom-up rather than analysis being guided by a specific theory, although Braun and Clarke acknowledge that all analysis is shaped to some extent by the researcher's theoretical standpoint (2006 p. 84; 2013 p. 175). Had I chosen to approach my analysis deductively, I could have used the components of the Sustainable Communities Plan as a theoretical framework to look for data that 'fit' these components. Indeed, there were overlaps and similarities with the

participants' responses and the components of the Sustainable Communities Plan which was not unexpected. However, applying this at the outset would have been antithetical to my research aim to identify how participants themselves defined successful communities and capturing as many varied conceptions of that as possible. Imposing such a framework could have risked missing aspects of community identified as important and relevant by participants, but which did not fit into the framework. Therefore, I did not approach my analysis with predetermined themes which I sought to impose on the data, rather my analysis was driven by what was in the data (Braun and Clarke 2013 p.178). Braun and Clarke outline six phases of thematic analysis, involving familiarisation with the data, generating codes, searching for and reviewing themes, defining and naming themes and producing the final report (2006 p. 87). They stress that analysis is not a linear process, rather it is recursive and there is a moving back and forth through the phases as necessary (2006 p. 86). The phases outlined by Braun and Clarke were followed in the analysis process in this research and are now discussed in detail.

Approaching the Analysis

This section discusses the way in which analysis was carried out and offers illustrative examples of coding and how they contribute to the development of the data themes. Thematic analysis, as developed by Braun and Clarke (2013) was employed in this study. The main strength of thematic analysis is its flexibility. Thematic analysis can be used to answer almost any type of research questions and can be used within a wide range of theoretical frameworks. Braun and Clarke laud its flexibility in providing a "rich and detailed, yet complex account of data" (2006 p.78).

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antithetical to my research aim to identify how participants themselves defined successful communities and capturing as many varied conceptions of that as possible. Imposing such a framework could have risked missing aspects of community identified as important and relevant by participants, but which did not fit into the framework. Therefore, I did not approach my analysis with predetermined themes which I sought to impose on the data, rather my analysis was driven by what was in the data (Braun and Clarke 2013 p.178). Engaging with the relevant literature to develop and enhance my analysis was done in the later stages, after the development of my themes. Braun and Clarke outline six phases of thematic analysis, involving transcription and familiarisation with the data, generating codes, searching for and reviewing themes, defining and naming themes and producing the final report (2006 p. 87). They stress that analysis is not a linear process, rather it is recursive and there is a moving back and forth through the phases as necessary (2006 p. 86). The phases outlined by Braun and Clarke were followed in the analysis process in this research and are now discussed in detail.

Transcription

The first step in analysis is to prepare the data, which may require transcription of audiofiles if interviews have been recorded. As discussed in the previous section all but one of the interviews were recorded. All recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim, although utterances and pauses were not indicated. The rationale for these decisions is discussed in section 7.4. Braun and Clarke see completing your own transcription as an excellent way to start becoming familiar with your data (Braun and Clarke 2006 p. 87). Similarly, Denscombe sees it as valuable part of the research in bringing the researcher “close to the data” (2010 p.275). When transcribing Denscombe recommends making informal notes and comments alongside the interviewee’s words which should draw on field notes or notes made soon after the interviews which include observations about the ambience of the interview (2010 p. 276). I made notes after each interview to record my initial impressions about what the participants had said and how they had said it, for example if they spoke excitedly. Transcribing my own interviews enabled me to compare my initial notes with the detail of the transcription. In addition, notes I made during the interviews enabled me to clarify parts of the interviews when background noises interfered with the audio quality during the interviews.

Familiarisation of the data

Once transcription of all interviews was completed, I printed hard copies of each transcript. Braun and Clarke say that analysis begins with a process of immersion in the data. This immersion comes from reading and rereading the transcripts (2013 p. 204). I engaged in the process of reading and re-reading multiple times to achieve immersion in the data, making notes at each reading and rereading. Braun and Clarke argue that this is a critical phase of analysis as it forms the bedrock of the remainder of the analysis (2006 p. 87). They suggest making notes and marking initial ideas for coding which can be returned to in subsequent phases. They refer to these initial ideas and note making as capturing "noticings", the process of which is casual and may come as a "stream of consciousness" and may reflect loose overall impressions (Braun and Clarke 2013 p. 205). For example, some of my first noticings were on how participants in Cambourne talked a lot about having a pub, whereas participants in Orchard Park hardly mentioned it. Another noticing was that many of my participants in Cambourne were self-employed and working from home. Braun and Clarke warn that while these noticings may enrich your analysis, they should not be the sole basis of your analysis (2013 p. 205). During my reading and rereading of the transcripts I made notes of noticings and initial thoughts which helped to generate ideas about coding. From the examples of noticings mentioned above, the participants' talk about a pub became part of my analysis but the noticings about people being self-employed and working from home did not. The noticings about participants' discussions of having a local pub then, enriched my later analysis but the different employment status of participants did not feature. These initial noticings were written on the hard copies of the transcripts and the transcripts were marked up with highlighters. To accompany the notes written on the transcript copies, I also made more detailed notes to revisit later in a separate document. During this process of familiarising myself with the data and making notes of initial noticings, I used hard copies of the transcripts. As my analysis progressed, I moved to coding electronically using the comment function on Microsoft Word.

There are discussions about the merits and limitations of using hard copies of transcripts and coding manually or using electronic versions and software, such as NVIVO in aiding analysis. Creswell and Poth (2018) discuss the advantages and disadvantages of using data analysis software. The use of software can aid the management of aspects of the analysis, such as searching and retrieving codes across the entire data set. Using software for analysis is particularly useful when

working with large datasets (Creswell and Poth 2018 p. 208). Braun and Clarke suggest using a hard copy, manual process for coding, even if eventually this is done electronically (2013 p. 204). Creswell argues that use of a computer programme can both encourage a deeper engagement with the data but also create distance and hinder creativity, the solution to which is to adopt a hybrid approach where manual coding is done in the early stages and using computers in later stages (Creswell and Poth 2018 pp. 209-210). Regardless of which decision is taken, it is still the task of the researcher to do the analysis; the researcher still must decide the codes and look for connections within the data (Denscombe 2010 p. 279). In light of the merits and limitations of using software for analysis, a hybrid approach was adopted, using both manual and electronic means.

Coding the Data

After familiarising yourself with the data and generating a list of initial ideas, the phase of coding begins (Braun and Clarke 2006 p. 88). Coding refers to the "process of identifying aspects of the data that relate to your research question" (Braun and Clarke 2013 p. 206).

Braun and Clarke identify two types of approaches to coding the data- selective and complete. The former looks for 'instances' of the phenomenon under investigation and aims at data reduction. The use of selective coding, they say is typically used in narrative, discursive and conversation analytic approaches (Braun and Clarke 2013 p. 206). Complete coding aims to identify "anything and everything of interest or relevance" in answering the research questions (Braun and Clarke 2013 p. 206) and this is the approach employed in my research. In my early stages of coding, I coded any text which seemed relevant to my research questions, not all of which were included in the final analysis. For example, I had a code for different types of transport which I used when participants talked about using public transport, cycling or their cars. I had initially thought different modes of transport and the connectivity of their communities might contribute to answering my research question on how participants define successful communities. However, when revisiting my codes and further developing my analysis this code did not retain significance for my overall analysis and in the development of my themes. Braun and Clarke argue that it is inclusivity is important at this stage as discarding irrelevant codes later is easier than having to return to the data and recode, therefore selectivity in coding comes later in the analytic process (Braun and Clarke 2013 p.211).

The codes generated can reflect the semantic or latent content of the data. Braun and Clarke describe semantic codes as those which provide a summary of the explicit content of the data (2013 p. 207). A semantic code does not move beyond description of what the participant has said (2006 p. 84). Latent codes are those which go beyond the explicit meaning of the data and reflect the researcher's conceptual and theoretical frameworks (Braun and Clarke 2013 p. 207). Latent codes examine the underlying ideas and assumptions which inform and shape the content of the data (Braun and Clarke 2006 p. 84). Latent codes do not explicitly express what participants said, rather they are derived from the researcher to find implicit meanings (Braun and Clarke 2013 p. 207). I coded data using semantic and latent codes. An example of semantic coding from my data is 'too many discounty/bargain shops' which referred to the range of shops within the communities. The code reflects the participant's language. Applying latent coding to the participant's references to 'discounty shops' is done using a code of 'lack of facilities' and later interpreted through the prism of social class, which is discussed within the theme of *Expectations of Communities*. Braun and Clarke assert that there is not necessarily a separation between these two types of codes and in practice codes can have both elements (2013 p. 207).

Braun and Clarke suggest coding data in as many ways as possible but warn that codes should be as concise as possible and informative enough to capture what is in the data (2013 p.211). As suggested by Braun and Clarke, a process of reviewing and refining codes was undertaken (Braun and Clarke 2006 p. 90). During this process some codes were merged with others to begin the formation of overarching themes and some formed main and subthemes in the final analysis. For example, in the initial stages of coding, two codes were developed, one named 'lack of transparency' and the other 'lack of communication'. A review of the data contained within these codes revealed overlap so a decision was made to merge these. Similarly, the code of 'reputation of community' began as two separate codes, one of 'bad reputation' and one of 'good reputation'. An example of coding is provided in the table below:

Data Extract	**Code**
the age-old problem of lack of provision of facilities…it was years before we got a cash machine; we don't have a post	Lack of facilities

box. Someone wanted to open a pharmacy and [we] ought to at the very least have a doctors too. (Brian)	Delays Community should have
At the beginning we were told it would be 4 years and the community would be ready, everything would be ready but now were talking about 10 years and they're still building (Benton)	Lack of facilities Delays Roles of developers, parish council, district council, com workers, residents

Table 3. Data Coding Example

Coding in qualitative research is not without criticism. Most commonly it is criticised for its potential to lose the context of what is said by "plucking" portions of text from the context in which they appeared (Bryman 2012 p. 578). Braun and Clarke suggest keeping some of the surrounding data when coding to avoid losing the context (2006 p. 89). Losing the context of what is said by participants is also a risk when using interview extracts. Denscombe suggests providing some detail on the context in which the extract arose and some relevant background details of the participant, without compromising their anonymity (Denscombe 2010 pp. 296-297). When including interview extracts, I provided the context for the extract and information about the participant. For example, one participant, Craig, talked about how much he cared about and was attached to his community. The contextual and participant information which I provided referred to how long the participant had been a resident, that he was one of the first residents and had moved house within the community several times during his transition from single to married and becoming a father. This contextual information is referred to as "thick, rich description" and can contribute to the transferability of the study (Geertz 1973 cited in Silverman 2011 p. 392).

The final part of the coding stage is to collate the coded data. I created separate electronic documents for the final list of codes and copied interview extracts into these. Participant details were included with the extracts in order to be able to identify which data item the extracts had come from.

Searching for themes

This phase of analysis entails organising the collated codes into potential themes and a consideration of how the different codes may combine to form an overarching theme (Braun and Clarke 2006 p. 89). A theme "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun and Clarke 2006 p.82). Bryman argues that there is little clear explanation of what a 'theme' actually is and explains that it is a category identified by the researcher through the data; relates to the research questions; builds on codes from transcripts and provides a basis for theoretical understanding of the data in order to make a theoretical contribution to the relevant literature (Bryman 201 p. 580). This phase is complete when there is a list of candidate themes, subthemes and the related extracts of coded data (Braun and Clarke 2006 p. 90). I will discuss searching for themes as they relate to my development of the main themes of the analysis and provide illustrative examples of the interview extracts on which the themes are based.

From my analysis of the data, I identified common patterns across the collated codes which referred to what participants thought about their communities before they moved in. This was the stage when they were looking at several different places before they chose their final one and comparing different places to one another. An initial candidate main theme for this was *Preconceptions of Place*. These were their preconceptions of the places before they had experienced living in the places and were based on the reputation of their place which was informed by word-of-mouth from friends and colleagues, media reports, and marketing materials. For example, the participant Jane said of Orchard Park:

> It still said Arbury Park on the billboard when we moved in and on the community centre. The residents changed it because of Arbury's bad reputation. Beirut was the perception when we moved in.

A theme of *Place Reputation* was developed to represent these. These preconceptions were positive and negative. Some of these preconceptions were about what kind of people participants thought the place was designed for and who it was being marketed at, whether young professionals or young families and what the image of the place was intended to be. For example, participants perceived Cambourne to be family oriented, as indicated by the following participant's remarks:

> The village activities are very family orientated so it isn't really for people without children (Theresa)
>
> They [developers] know who their target markets are, they are young families (Craig)

Additional themes were identified which were related to the place boundaries, place associations and place histories. My analysis identified patterns of questioning the boundaries of places and patterns of making connections with history and other places. From my analysis I developed themes of *Boundaries, Association and Separation* and *History, Heritage and Landscape*. I identified a connection between the themes discussed above which related to forming the identity of a place and what the participants did to contribute to this. The themes identified here relate to my research questions on how people experience community building policies and how community members define successful communities.

Many of my participants talked about what was *in* their communities, for example how many shops and what kind, what services they had such as a doctor's surgery or post office and what kind of housing their communities had. The participants talked about what their communities had when they moved in, at the present (time of interviewing) and what they would have in the future. My initial analysis of led me to identify a theme of *Facilities,* taken from one of my codes. The theme of *Facilities* seemed broad enough to capture the range of shops, services and other amenities that participants discussed so fervently.

Upon further analysis, the ways in which the participants were discussing their community's facilities were not just about what facilities their communities had or didn't have. Their discussions were about what they thought their communities *would* and *should* have, when they should have them and who should provide them. The participants were expressing ideas about their *expectations* of their communities. These expectations are reflected in the following extracts:

> At the beginning we were told it would be 4 years and the community would be ready, everything would be ready but now were talking about 10 years and they're still building (Benton- Orchard Park)
>
> There was a bit of discontent with the developers because I was told in December 1999 that the high street would be built by the following Christmas, but the high street's still got nothing on it 16 years later and the supermarket was 4 years late. (Wilma- Cambourne)

> The age-old problem of lack of provision of facilities…it was years before we got a cash machine; we don't have a post box. Someone wanted to open a pharmacy and [we] ought to at the very least have a doctors too. (Brian)

Such sentiments were expressed widely across the data set. From my analysis of this data, I developed a main theme of *Managing Expectations.* The patterns here represent connections between different elements of the participants' communities and what they thought their communities should look like. These contributed to addressing my research questions on people experience community building policies and how community members define successful communities.

Another set of patterns that I identified in the coded data related to what the participants *did* in their communities. This included coded data about the existence of formally organised groups and activities in their communities and whether or not the participants were involved in these. Involvement included participants as organisers, members or attendees to a range of activities and events. This also included participants' involvement in informal activities in their community. An initial theme of *Formal and Informal Participation* was developed. In searching for patterns across the data I was also looking for how the themes related to each other. Another pattern identified referred to how participants *felt* about their communities. This theme identified for this was *Feelings of Attachment and Belonging*. The theme of *Feelings of Attachment and Belonging* made connections with the theme of *Formal and Informal Participation*. How participants felt were sometimes related to when they moved into their communities (the stage of its development) and how much they participated in activities in their communities. These connections are reflected in the following three interview extracts:

> I feel like the old farmer who leans on his fork and says 'I remember when this was all fields'…I actually genuinely really do…I do have an *attachment* to it, I do actually really, really *care* about it; somebody has to don't they (Craig 15 years residence, age 37)

> We feel connected to the place because we moved in so early and we've grown with the community. (Jane 7 years age 37)

> There is lots going on but I don't really engage with it. […] Doesn't stop me *feeling part* of the community (Theresa 14 years residence, age 38)

These extracts are indicative of the complex relationship between length of residence, participation in community and attachment to community. The themes here address my research question about the ways in which people participate in the creation and maintenance of their communities.

Braun and Clarke explain that some codes may go on to form themes or subthemes (2006 p. 90). For example, the candidate theme above of Place Reputation was derived from a code on 'reputation of community' (see table 4 below). They also explain that initial candidate themes may change during a process of reviewing the themes as at this stage they are still provisional (Braun and Clarke 2013 p.227). The candidate themes may be accepted, discarded or modified during a process of reviewing the themes.

Reviewing the themes

Reviewing the candidate themes is about making sure each theme 'works' in relation to the coded data and in relation to answering the research question (Braun and Clarke 2013 p.234). Reviewing of the themes may entail the addition of new themes or the breaking down into separate themes (Braun and Clarke2006 p. 91).

My review of the theme of *Preconceptions of Place* entailed changing the name of the main theme to better reflect the data that it contained. The data did not reflect participants' preconceived ideas only, but also how these preconceptions were challenged and changed by their experiences of living in their communities. I decided that *Perceptions of Place* was a broad enough and more accurate main theme to represent these ideas.

In reviewing my theme of *Facilities*, I identified the need for additional themes. The participants' ideas about what they thought their communities would and should have included not only shops and services, but also different types of housing and amenities such as community centres, schools, cafes and pubs. While there was a broad theme of 'facilities', there was a need for related themes to capture these different elements. This led me to develop additional themes of *Housing Tenure* and *Social Spaces* and to have a more accurate theme of *Facilities on the High Street* to convey the sense in which the participants framed their discussions.

I identified the need for changes to my theme of *Managing Expectations.* The name of the theme was changed to *Expectations of Community.* The data within this theme referred to how participants formed their expectations, not just how they managed them. I also added an additional theme of *Roles of Developers, Local Authorities and Parish Councils.* When participants were discussing their expectations of their communities, these were often accompanied by discussions of whose responsibility it was to provide facilities and amenities which would meet their

expectations. This felt like an important theme in its own right rather than one to be merged with the other themes.

Within my themes of *Participation* and *Attachment and Belonging* there was an additional pattern which related to the timing of participant's arrival to their community and at what stage of development the community was. There were different types of involvement at different stages of development, not just a pattern of different levels of involvement or different activities. This led me to the development of the theme of *Pioneers, Early Arrivals and Followers*. The use of the term 'pioneer' is taken from an interview extract in which the participants referred to themselves as 'pioneers' when discussing how they created their community:

> back then there was that real sense of this is something we've created because we were the first ones here [participants paused, looked at each other and simultaneously exclaimed] pioneers! (Wilma and Mike)

> I've always been involved in Cambourne having been one of the first settlers so I felt duty bound to help build the community […] I've seen it grow from nothing. (Craig)

This theme captured what participants did and when they did it, the essence and complexity of which of which was not fully expressed within the themes of *Participation* and *Attachment and Belonging.*

Defining and naming themes

Defining and naming the themes refers to identifying the essence of what each theme is about and Braun and Clarke suggest they should be concise and immediately give the reader a sense of what the theme is about (2006 p. 93). As discussed above, I changed some of the names of my themes during the process of reviewing them in order to convey their meaning and content more clearly. Determining my final main themes and subthemes were based on considerations of the salience with which participants discussed different aspects of their communities and their prevalence within and across the dataset. The details of what each theme contains are now discussed.

7.10. Development of Analysis Themes

Perceptions of Place

This main theme includes subthemes of *Place Reputation, Boundaries, Association and Separation* and *History, Heritage and Landscape*. This theme is about what participants thought about their communities before they were resident, how this changed with their lived experience of their communities and how they contributed to the development of their place identity. The place reputation influenced how some participants constructed the symbolic boundaries of their place and the extent to which they associated their place with other places or sought to separate their community's identity from places with a 'bad reputation'.

Participants' perceptions of their place were influenced in part by how they thought the place was marketed or how it was branded by place-making professionals. Some of the place-branding activities carried out by the place-making professionals included attempt to create a history or heritage of the place or 'selling' certain features, such as the landscape. The analysis of data within this theme includes an examination of how participants responded to place-branding attempts and contributed to the development of place-branding. This is important because place-branding most often refers to the practices of place-making professionals rather than community members. The analysis of this theme contributes to my questions on how people experience community building policies and how community members define successful communities.

Expectations of Community

The second main theme is Expectations of Community. The subthemes include *Facilities on the High Street, Housing Tenure, Social Space and Interaction,* and *Roles of Local Authorities, Developers and Parish Councils.* This main theme reflects the ways in which participants thought and hoped their communities would develop and represent their ideas of what a successful community is. The analysis examines what the participants' expectations were, how they were formed and how participants responded when these were not met. The subthemes refer to different aspects of the communities and some aspects had more salience than others for participants. For example, within the subtheme of *Housing Tenure,* the tenure of

Buy-to-Let was a salient issue for residents of Orchard Park but Social Housing was a salient issue for residents of Cambourne. The subtheme of *Social Space and Interaction* examines how participants developed expectations about what a community should have in relation to their perceptions about others' needs. For example, participants discussed their expectation of having a community centre, but they did not make use of the community centres. These were expectations they had for others but considered an essential feature of a successful community. The subtheme of *Roles of Local Authorities, Developers and Parish Councils* refers to the range of institutional actors participants believed were responsible for developing their communities, and who to blame when their expectations of what their communities should look like, were not met.

Pioneers and Followers

The final theme, Pioneers and Followers, represents how participants saw themselves and others contributing to the creation and maintenance of the communities through a range of different activities. This was often related to the extent to which such activities enabled feelings of belonging. This theme is about what participants *did* in their communities and how they contributed to making and maintaining their community. The subthemes reflect how the participant's community-building efforts were categorised, *Pioneers, Early Arrivals and Followers;* what activities they participated in, *Participation in What? Formal and Informal Activities;* and the extent to which they experienced feelings of belonging and attachment, *Attachment and Belonging.* This theme captures essence what the participants did in their communities when they arrived and the complexity of the relationship between this and generating an attachment to community. The final subtheme *A (pioneering) community within a community,* represents data from two participants who were to be members of a co-housing community which was yet to be constructed. Their data offered a different perspective than the other participants, in that they were discussing what they *will* do to achieve a successful community, rather than looking back at what they *have* done to achieve a successful community. This theme contributes to my research question on how people participate in the creation and maintenance of their communities.

The main themes and subthemes and selected codes which informed their development is presented in the table below.

Main Themes	Perceptions of Place	Expectations	Pioneers and Followers
Subthemes	Place Branding Place Reputation Boundaries, Association and Separation History, Heritage and landscape	Facilities on the High Street Housing Tenure Social Space and Interaction Roles of Local Authorities, Developers and Parish Councils	Pioneers, Early Arrivals and Followers: timing of arrival Participation in What? Formal and Informal Activities Attachment and Belonging A (pioneering) community within a community
Selected Codes	Reputation of community; Insider/outsider views of community; Boundaries of community- physical/ administrative/symbolic; Place identity Defending community	Lack of facilities; Community should have; Compare to other communities; Tenure mix-SH, BTL Lack of communication; out of touch; Roles of developers, parish council, district council, community workers, residents	Making community-virtual/real; Participation in community; Feelings of Attachment/belonging; Community spirit; Pioneers/settlers Latecomers/followers

Table 4. Code and Theme Development

An integrative approach was used in the analysis to combine the analysis, discussion and locate this within the relevant literature. The synthesis and discussion chapter locates the analysis in the context of the theoretical

underpinnings of this research. An integrative approach enables a fuller development of analysis "as it happens" and avoids the repetition between separate results and discussion section (Braun and Clarke 2013 p. 258). Being explicit about how analysis has progressed is important in providing clarity and enabling others to evaluate your research (Braun and Clarke 2006 p. 80). Being explicit about decisions taking during the course of the research can also help address concerns around what Lincoln and Guba term, dependability, as discussed in section 7.8 (1985 cited in Denscombe 2010 p. 300).

7.11. Summary

This chapter has provided an outline of my methodology, my choice of methods and details of the research sites and participants, along with my justification for these choices. I have discussed the nature of quality criteria in qualitative research and how these have been applied in this study. The chapter finishes with an explanation of how I approached the data analysis to develop the data analysis themes. The content of each theme and subtheme is defined and how they contribute to answering my research questions is discussed. The following three chapters present my analysis and findings as they relate to the themes identified above.

8. Findings and Analysis Theme 1: Perceptions of Place

8.1. Introduction

In this section I will explain how the theme of 'perceptions of place' was identified from the data and detail of what the theme contains. A brief reminder is offered here of place-making which is discussed in Chapter 3. This theme developed out of the ways in which participants talked about the reputation of their community, its identity and the ways in which they, and others, contributed to these. It is about how the participants perceive their communities and how they think others, usually 'outsiders' view their communities. The participants' perceptions were often informed by the reputation of the places which preceded their interactions or contact with the places themselves, for example through media reports or word-of-mouth from friends or colleagues. Other sources came from the developers and housebuilders who sought to "sell their vision" through marketing materials. Participants also talked about the boundaries of their communities and how their communities were different from and similar to those around them and the markers of these, symbolic and physical. Taken together these processes can be seen as strategies of place branding, which is an integral element of place-making. The place-branding literature offers a useful analytic with which to interpret and discuss the data. I will now offer a brief outline of what place-branding is in the next section.

8.2. Place-branding

Place-branding is an integral element of place-making, as discussed in Chapter 3, and refers to the ways in which the distinctive and defining characteristics of a place are defined and communicated to target audiences and contributes to place identity (Sevin 2013 p. 47) and contribute to the construction of place identity. These target audiences may be residents, visitors or businesses and branding can occur at the neighbourhood, city, county, region and country levels. Although used in a marketing context and aimed primarily at the practices of place-making professionals, the literature on place-branding can capture the ways in which community members contribute to their place brand and identity. The place-branding literature is used in the context of this study to encapsulate how people negotiate place-branding strategies and how they incorporate their values into their

visions of how their community should be. Kavaratzis and Hatch argue that place-branding is the result of co-creation of a multitude of people, representing a participatory view of place-branding (2013 p. 72). Aitken and Campelo (2011) suggest that brand meanings are constantly co-created and re-presented *by the community* reflecting the everyday experience of its constituents (my emphasis). Kavaratzis and Hatch assert that such a view is not widely reflected in the literature (2013 p. 72). This demonstrates that contributing to place-branding is not a set of activities confined to place making professionals, rather the contributions of community members themselves should be acknowledged and accommodated.

Much of the research on place-branding is focused on the city level. For example, library searches for 'city branding' returned 3608 hits, while a library search for neighbourhood branding returned only 20 hits. Applying the literature at the neighbourhood level represents a novel use of these theoretical models and has the potential to provide insight into the ways in which place-branding works at levels smaller than the city levels. In addition, strategies of place-branding are often aimed at place-making professionals rather than the residents, or 'place consumers' as they are often referred to (Zenker & Braun, 2017 p. 275). My analysis here looks at the ways in which residents themselves engage in place-making strategies, as active co-creators of their place brand and place identity, in the ways they accept, challenge or modify the place brand promoted by place-making professionals. These novel applications are important given the number of urban extensions and other developments which do not fit the size of a city in determining how such places' identities are forged and by whom.

As shall be discussed in greater detail below, some of the elements mentioned by Lucarelli and Berg (2011 p. 12), such as events, festivals, history and heritage, were utilised in place-branding strategies, but with varying degrees of success. Providing opportunities for cultural, community and leisure activities are identified in the Sustainable Communities Plan as features of a successful community (ODPM 2005 p. 56). Many of my participants spoke of festivals and events in both locations and posts on social media pages suggest a multitude of events and activities take place. However, while the majority of participants had knowledge of such events having been organised, "they do, well, they have fetes on, circuses, you know local things" (Simon – Cambourne); they reported that they did not attend these events and activities themselves. One participant remarked that such events were "not really my cup of tea" (Shaun- Cambourne). It could be that these events lacked the

historical and cultural specificity required to create a successful brand narrative identified by Lucarelli and Berg (2011) or a coherent narrative shared by sufficient numbers of people with which they could identify. If the brand narrative lacks coherence or is too complex, the result can be a lack of identification with the brand, and hence the place (Zenker and Braun 2017 p. 281). Place-branding can also be achieved through the use of iconic buildings or links to the heritage and history of a place (Lucarelli and Berg 2011). The participants did not speak of any iconic or relevant buildings which could contribute to the place brand, although artefacts found during the development at Orchard Park were incorporated into the community centre. This provided a link to the history and heritage of the place which a small number of participants mentioned and saw as contributing to the place identity.

In attempting to influence the above associations of the place-branding activities with the target audience, Zenker and Braun (2017), citing and consolidating previous research by Kavaratzis (2004), identify three different ways in which places communicate with their place consumers. These are through the physical place and spatial design; through advertising using slogans and logos undertaken by marketing professionals; and informal word-of-mouth communications between groups of place consumers, reinforced by the media. The latter is seen by Zenker and Braun as the strongest, the least influenced by officials and increasingly facilitated by social media. Each of these communication types can be seen in the way the participants talked about their places. For example, in Cambourne, the spatial design expressed the principles of sustainability through the existence of multiple parks and green spaces, for which Cambourne has featured as a good planning example and which participants acknowledged as a key feature with which they identified (The Wildlife Trust, n.d.; CIH 2005).

> they've got the right thing for open spaces. Cambourne is fantastic for outdoors; lots of greenery, ponds and lakes (Simon)

For this participant, the communication of Cambourne as a place which implements principles of environmental sustainability through the provision of green spaces, has been successful.

Participants referred to the marketing materials which they perceived as branding Cambourne as a place for young families and Orchard Park as a place for young professionals. This was a consistent view shared among the sample of participants.

Residents established their own social media sites alongside ‘official’ sites of the parish and community councils of both research sites for the informal word-of-mouth communication of place brand. On their own sites participants could share their expressions of place and create their own (alternative) narrative which contributes the place brand and identity. Each of these will be discussed in more detail in further on.

Of these ways in which places communicate with place consumers referred to above by Zenker and Braun (2017) the first two; place and spatial design and advertising; may be seen as containing strategies of place-branding orchestrated by place-making professionals. In other words, these strategies are engineered. In contrast, the last of these, word-of-mouth, may be seen as emerging organically from the place consumers. These represent different approaches to place-making more broadly, but within which place-branding occurs, which tend to be categorised as top-down and led by place-making professionals or bottom-up, which are led by residents themselves (Lew 2017).

The process of place-branding is said to be successful when people in general and over longer periods of time hold a favourable reputation of a place (Boisen *et al* 2018 p. 21). The length of time residing at either Orchard Park or Cambourne ranged from the shortest of six months at Orchard Park (the participant then moved to Cambourne) to the longest of 14 years at Cambourne. The longest at Orchard Park was ten years and the shortest time at Cambourne was two years. The length of time spent at either place did not appear to have any impact on the participants’ perception of their places as successful or unsuccessful. The extent to which participants held a favourable reputation of their place, or perceived that others did, was variable, although not to the degree suggested by Braun *et al* who said that perceptions could “differ strongly” between groups (2013 p. 19). Both Cambourne and Orchard Park have received mixed media coverage, particularly in relation to crime, in the local and national press contributing to the mixed narrative participants had (Goh and Bailey 2007; Paige 2008; Greer 2009; Harris 2013; Brown 2017; Pilgrim 2017; Savva 2017).

Further strategies of place-branding can include those to improve a place image. Avraham (2004) examines strategies to improve a negative city image. Avraham cites Kotler et al (1993) to define place image as “the sum of beliefs, ideals and

impressions people have toward a certain place" (2004 p. 472). A reputation is defined similarly, as the beliefs or opinions that are generally held about someone or something. Although the terms used are different, their constituent parts are sufficiently similar to engender Avraham's research particularly useful here. Avraham (2004) suggests strategies for improving the image of a place when that image is unfavourable. These include, but are not limited to, delivering counter-stereotypical messages; ignoring the stereotype; acknowledging the negative image; and geographic association or separation in the campaign (Avraham 2004 p. 471). Avraham presents these as media strategies to be undertaken by city leaders and local decision makers rather than seeing these as strategies community members themselves may employ. However, the ways in which some of the participants talked about their community, its reputation and identity suggest they were engaging in these strategies, whether that is how they saw themselves or not. This supports the research of Kavaratzis and Hatch who suggest that place brands are co-created by a multitude of people who encounter and appropriate them, rather than being passively accepted (2013 p. 72).

Much of the place-branding literature acknowledges a multitude of actors involved in place-branding processes, although little is said on the participation of community members. Many of the strategies discussed above are done so from the perspective of 'city officials' or local decision makers as the sole implementers of these strategies or the only creators of the place brand and place identity. However, place branding can also be undertaken by community members themselves, seen as co-creators of place brand and identity (Aitken and Campelo 2011). Braun *et al* (2013) argue that greater participation of residents as citizens, that is participation in local decision-making, increases the likelihood of becoming place ambassadors. Such a view is supported by a small group of the participants in this research where those who spoke of participating more, for example in parish council roles, tended to speak more positively about their community, thus promoting their place as ambassadors as Braun *et a*l explained. Braun *et al's* (2013) work is useful here in understanding the ways in which participants as residents contribute to place-branding processes and how they respond to place brand strategies engineered by place-makers.

The role of social media has also been lauded for its potential in facilitating community involvement in place-branding processes (Braun *et al* 2013 p. 24). Both Cambourne and Orchard Park have town and community parish social media

pages, however it is the ‘unofficial’ social media pages set up by residents themselves which have more followers, members and ‘likes’. For example, ‘Orchard Park Community Council’ Facebook group have 388 followers while ‘Inside Orchard Park’ has 777 members. This suggests that community members prefer to organise and utilise their own channels for online communication than the more ‘official’ channels set up by the parish councils. Participants may see the establishment of their own, alternative, social media sites as more valid and appropriate to their needs. This could reflect views of their parish council more widely, in that participants may not see them as being in-touch with the needs of the people in their community. Such a lack of alignment would need to be addressed if social media and other online communication technologies are to be harnessed to facilitate greater community involvement in the processes of place-branding identified as so vital by Braun *et al* (2013).

The literature on place-branding suggests that branding is seen as something place-making professionals do, rather than something community members do themselves. However, the ways in which some of the participants spoke about the reputation and identity of their communities, and their actions relating to this, aligns with the same processes discussed in the literature on branding, suggesting that the participants were engaging in brand work. Analysis and discussion shall now move onto the ways in which the participants talked about the reputation and identity of their communities and the activities they engaged in to contribute to their place reputation and identities.

8.3. Constructing Place Reputation

In this section I will look at the ways in which participants perceived the reputations of their communities. The place-branding literature as it relates to reputation is drawn upon to interpret and analyse the ways in which participants contributed to the construction of their place reputation. A brief introduction to Orchard Park, its beginnings and indicative examples of media coverage is provided before moving onto to focus on the participants’ experiences of living in Orchard Park. After discussing the participants’ experiences of living in Orchard Park discussion will move onto the participants’ experiences of Cambourne, following the same format.

Reputation is an element of place-branding as explained previously by Boisen *et al* (2017). Bell (2016) sees place-branding and reputation as intertwined and complementary, offering no hierarchy of the two concepts. However, much of the literature and many conceptualisations of place-branding, some of which is outlined in the previous section, see reputation, and it's management' as an element of place-branding, situating it in a subordinate position to place-branding. I would argue however, there is a bi-directional relationship between these two concepts, with each impacting on the other. For example, as will be demonstrated below an existing reputation impacted on the developer's ability to create a successful brand with which the residents could identify. The residents changed the name to one they could identify with which led to a successful brand creation. This is illustrated in the images below in Images 1,2 and 3.

Image 1 Developer's billboard at Orchard Park original c. 2008, Jenkins 2009

Image 2 Developer's billboard at Orchard Park with resident's DIY name change c. 2009, Edkins 2010

Image 3 Developer's billboard at Orchard Park with developer's changed sign c. 2009, Stafford-Fraser 2010

8.3.1. Orchard Park Reputation

Orchard Park began its origins under the name of Arbury Park, reflecting its connections to the community of Arbury adjacent to it. Arbury is a well-established neighbourhood/estate built during the 1960s when local authorities were the main house builders. It is one of the most densely populated wards in Cambridge, has high levels of poverty and used to contain some of King's Hedges ward population also before ward boundary changes (Cambridgeshire County Council Research Group 2011; Cambridge City Council 2017). Ward boundary changes renamed some of this area 'King's Hedges' although many residents in King's Hedges ward still refer to this area as Arbury, including community workers in the area (Pilgrim 2018). Orchard Park is geographically divided from King's Hedges by a busy main road and administratively separate, making it also adjacent to Cambridge city. Arbury has long held the status of having a 'bad' reputation which included references to issues such as ASB, drugs and gangs. A brief search of the local newspaper confirms the perception of this history although this is increasingly being challenged and replaced with positive stories about living in Arbury (Pilgrim 2017; Gooding 2018; Savva 2019; Leishman 2019).

Nevertheless, the first few residents into Orchard Park, commenting on social media, were unhappy with any association with Arbury and its long-standing poor reputation (Edkin 2010). Participants were aware of the reputation of Arbury. As recalled by one participant in Orchard Park,

> There was friction between developers and locals on the name. Arbury wasn't wanted by the locals (Veronica)

One participant, who was to be part of a co-housing scheme adjacent to Orchard Park, contrasted a "posh" part of Cambridge with Orchard Park to accentuate the stark differences, diplomatically stating;

> Granchester's probably the poshest part of Cambridge and Orchard Park and Arbury are the least posh parts of Cambridge (Martin).

This participant is using ideas of social class to assign a certain status to Orchard Park, suggesting a hierarchy in which Orchard Park sits at the bottom. This participant's use of the term 'posh' with 'least' is designating Orchard Park (and Arbury) as lacking in luxury or class. The participant above accepted the narrative of the poor reputation of Orchard Park and did not seek to challenge this reputation or change the narrative. This is contrast to other participant's perceptions of marketing materials which they believe were aimed at young professionals, suggesting a higher socioeconomic class than the phrase 'least posh' indicates for Orchard Park.

While there may have been some agreement with this sentiment with regards to the name of Arbury, the decision to informally rename it to Orchard Park suggests the residents are in disagreement with that particular part of the sentiment. This is indicated in the images above (Images 1,2,3), where residents took action themselves when the developers were slow to act on their request to change the name, covering 'Arbury' with paper signs to read 'Orchard'. This is an example of community members engaging in their own organic strategies of brand work in order to influence people's perception of Orchard Park, as discussed by Boisen et al (2018), by attempting to change the narrative through the simple act of naming a place (Light 2014cited in Lew 2017 p. 450). Avraham asserts that a place name which has associations with negative stereotypes can damage its attractiveness, hence reputation, and so changing the place name can help to alter a negative reputation (2004 p. 475) and prevent their place becoming a 'failed' place (Cresswell 2015).

The billboard remained with the DIY paper replacement sign for some months before it was amended by the developers (Stafford-Fraser 2010). While none of the participants in this research engaged in the construction of the replacement sign, some of the participants discussed the DIY name change sign on the developer's billboard and the reason for the name change. The existence of the sign and their

knowledge of it impacted on their perception of the place brand of Orchard Park. This name change, both the residents' DIY organic strategy and Gallagher's engineered strategy, communicate a different narrative of the originally intended place brand.

Some participants instigated discussion of Orchard Park's name change and were in agreement with the name change. When participants instigated discussions about their experience of the name of Orchard Park and the name change, they citied Arbury's 'bad reputation' and a reference to Orchard Park as 'Beirut', as noted by one Orchard Park participant;

> It still said Arbury Park on the billboard when we moved in and on the community centre. They [the residents] changed the name because of Arbury's bad reputation. Beirut was the perception when we moved in (Jane)

There was no further explanation of this reference to 'Beirut' offered from this participant (or the others for that matter). This suggests that such a description of a place as 'Beirut' was perceived as self-explanatory and widely known enough to warrant no further explanation. Although this participant did not refer to Orchard Park as 'Beirut' herself, or say that this was how she perceived Orchard Park to be, her retelling of the story perpetuates the narrative of 'Beirut'. The lack of offering additional explanation could further suggest that this is the normal narrative in which this participant engages when discussing Orchard Park. The image of Orchard Park as 'Beirut' is perpetuated by the continued telling of the story without the participant investing belief in the negative image herself. When faced with a negative place reputation or place image, Avraham, discussed above, identifies a number of strategies which could be adopted by the media in order to improve the negative reputation (2004 p. 477). Of relevance here are the strategies of acknowledging the negative reputation and ignoring it. Although Avraham presented these as media strategies, the participant quoted above can be seen to be adopting these strategies. She has acknowledged the negative reputation and has chosen to ignore the negative reputation in relation to her decision to move to Orchard Park.

The media is said to exercise power as a "highly plausible agent in reputation formation and maintenance" (Kearns *et al* 2013 p. 593) in communicating place reputation. Participants' acknowledgement and discussion Germaine Greer's designation of Orchard Park as Beirut in a national newspaper article, would appear to offer some support for such a claim (Greer 2009). Although participants knew of

the reference to Orchard Park as 'Beirut' at some point and mentioned it, none referred to it directly themselves as that or said that was how they perceived Orchard Park. This points to the relevance of Avraham's strategies to extend beyond her intended realm of the media as these participants are engaging in those media strategies, by acknowledging and ignoring a negative reputation. The knowledge of the 'Beirut' narrative among participants may point to the strength of the word-of-mouth communication type which is reinforced by the media, that Zenker and Braun (2017) identified as so influential as discussed in the previous section. The participant quoted below can also be interpreted as adopting Avraham's strategies and in addition employing Avraham's strategy of adding a counter message which challenges the negative reputation.

Another participant who was aware of the 'Beirut' reputation before moving in after seeing it mentioned in the opening of a psychology book, talked about his trepidation on moving to Orchard Park. However, upon moving in he found that the reputation was unwarranted and as for the book said;

> makes me feel there's a slight need for a correction to go out there; It's not [like Beirut]. We all like it and say good things about it, so I know that a lot of other people we know aspire to live here. (Brian).

For this participant, his lived experience of Orchard Park did not align with his preconceived perceptions of it. His lived experience changed his perceptions and in turn influenced his lived experience, of Orchard Park. This statement from this participant suggests that he, and possibly his acquaintances, will continue to engage in brand work in order to influence others' perception of Orchard Park in order to challenge the narrative of a 'bad' reputation with their counter message.

8.3.2. Cambourne Reputation

As discussed in Chapter 1 Cambourne, originally called Monkfield Park, was built from scratch as a new town, beginning in 1998 with development ongoing (CIH 2005). Cambourne has had its fair share of media coverage over the years referred to as 'toytown' (Harris 2013), 'Crimebourne' (Page 2008) and accused of bringing about a new generation of the 'new town blues' (Goh and Bailey 2007). In 2009 Cambourne was reported as having the highest birthrate in the UK amid concerns of a lack of facilities to accommodate such growth (Beckford 2009; Cambourne Parish Council 2009 p. 11). For Cambourne's 20th birthday the coverage in the local media

was much more favourable, telling stories of community spirit, neighbourliness and an active community (Elliot 2018).

The ways in which participants talked about the reputation of Cambourne suggests that overall much of the above negative media messages have not been accepted by them, and while none mentioned directly any media coverage of Cambourne, some were aware of Cambourne's birthrate claim to fame. For example, a small number of the participants mentioned the higher than average birth rates, with one excitedly exclaiming "Cambourne is fantastic for families. I think we've got the highest birth rate in the world!" (Simon). This participant believed so many families had chosen to live here because Cambourne was such a great place for families, suggesting that Cambourne as a brand for families was successful a strategy. While the media sought to present the high birth rate as a negative image and therefore the community as unsuccessful, this participant perceived it to be positive feature, making his community successful. There was a fairly consistent perception or a successful brand narrative of Cambourne's reputation as a place for young families among participants. One participant went so far as to declare**;**

> if you could design somewhere to bring a child up this is pretty much it. I can't think of anything that's missing (Craig).

The participant, Craig, had moved to Cambourne as single man and since living in Cambourne had married and had a child, so for him Cambourne has accommodated his life stages. Accommodating different life stages has implications for the Sustainable Communities Plan's aspiration of creating "places where people want to live and will *continue* to want to live." (emphasis added) (ODPM 2003 p. 7). This suggests that this participant sees Cambourne as being able to accommodate bringing up a child through all stages of their life course- infant, toddler, primary and secondary school. The latter matters because at the time of doing the fieldwork Cambourne's own village college had only opened three years prior. Until that time, secondary school pupils had to attend neighbouring village schools, indicating Cambourne could not accommodate a bringing up a child through all stages of their life course. The above participant was adamant that targeting young families was the strategy of the developers, "they know who their target markets are, they are young families", a view that was shared by participants from the parish council. The intentionality of the engineered strategy of the developers to brand Cambourne as a place for families then, was successful among these participants. While the brand narrative of Cambourne as a place for young families was a perception shared by

most of the participants, not all perceived that as a positive feature. In other words, this part of the network of associations of the Cambourne brand held less importance for some. Successful communities, as envisioned in policy, are those which can adapt to the changing demands of modern life, have a capacity for growth and provide for all stages of life (ODPM 2003). While the participant above sees Cambourne as successful in relation to his life stages, this was not the case for all participants.

A small number of female participants living in Cambourne with no children remarked on how the Cambourne family brand had not been sufficient to meet their needs. One participant who lived with her sister and her sister's children in Cambourne stated;

> Seems like it's all about family, so if you don't have kids you can feel a bit left out. […] I could imagine bringing a family up here but I wouldn't feel right walking around Cambourne without my sister and her kids because it's so kids and family focused. (Carly).

Another female participant without children noted the family orientation of public events in Cambourne and the impact;

> The village activities are very family orientated so it isn't really for people without children (Theresa)

So here then, the brand narrative is successful in that there is a general consensus on what the brand narrative is, but the same narrative is interpreted differently depending on the community members' needs or the level of influence of the brand. For the participants above, Cambourne has not been successful in accommodating their life stages as people without children. This is important given the rise of one-person households, which increased by 16% between 1997-2017 and is expected to continue to rise (ONS 2019). Williams and Pocock argue that if communities are to contain people at various stages in their lives, then there must be opportunities to make social connections within their life stage group and outside their life stage group, or the communities that place-makers set out to create may be undermined (2010 p. 85). The Sustainable Communities Plan defines sustainable communities as those which meet the diverse needs of *existing* and future residents (ODPM 2005 p. 56). The interview extracts above indicate that the needs of some existing residents are not being met. If the brand narrative is one with which people cannot identify, this could lead people to perceive their community as unsuccessful for them. Being unable to identify with the community brand could impact on people's decisions to remain in place and increase mobility.

Zenker and Braun's (2017) ideas of different levels of importance or influence in place consumer's network of associations along with their umbrella and sub-brand categories, are useful here in understanding how these participants perceived the same brand narrative differently. Zenker and Braun explain that creating a successful and coherent place brand can be challenging, given the likely diversity of interests among the different audience groups and potential conflicts of interest. Such complexity is evident from the discussion above where there is consensus on Cambourne's reputation as a place for young families, contributing to a successful brand, but there is also conflict for those whose needs are not met through this brand. This is where Zenker and Braun discuss the complexity of place-branding, the need for sub-brand categories and the different levels of influence the elements of the network of associations contained within the place brand have on the place consumers' attitude (2017 p. 275). Place-making should be accommodating of changing use and multiple and context-sensitive relations in space and time (Avarot 2002 p. 207).

For the participants discussed above, they have placed different levels of importance on the same element of the place brand- the family focused narrative, even though there is a consensus on the narrative in general. In order to address these complexities, Zenker and Braun suggest creating subcategories of the place brand which come under a wider place brand umbrella and which can accommodate a wider diversity of needs/interests (2017 pp. 277-280). These subcategories are akin to market segmentation in marketing in which consumers are divided into different groups along lines of, for example, income, interest, socio-demographics or lifestyle (Smith 1956; Gonzales and Bello 2002 cited in Zenker and Braun 2017 p. 274). This is partly about adapting the place brand to target audience members differently in order to influence the levels of importance attached to the network of associations so they perceive the brand in a certain way. This also partly about audience segmentation and they suggest dividing up the place consumers into existing and potential. Applying this to the participants perceptions of the Cambourne family brand the communication has targeted only those for whom the brand communication is important currently, not for the potential newcomers to the place brand. Ways of communicating the same brand differently or communicating different associations to fit the place consumers' expectations must be found if the place brand communication is to be successful. In this context of the 'family' brand for Cambourne, the 'family' brand umbrella could encapsulate planning for your future family; meeting the needs of your current family; for your

growing family; planning, having and raising a family. The umbrella place brand acts as an arch under which sub-brand categories can be developed, in other words "a differentiated brand architecture to match a specific target group with a specific [city] sub-brand (Zenker and Braun 2017 p. 277). Zenker and Braun's umbrella and sub-brand categories are also useful for interpreting and analysing the ways in which participants talked about the boundaries of their places and the ways in which their places were similar too and different from other places. This will be discussed in the next section below.

8.4. Boundaries, Association and Separation

In this section I will discuss the ways in which participants perceived the boundaries of their communities and how they related their places to other places around them. The ways in which the participants talked about the boundaries of their communities suggests these are fluid and subjective, not necessarily corresponding with each other or the administrative boundaries of their place. The participants are constructing symbolic boundaries of their communities in addition to other existing boundaries, consistent Menin's assertion that place-making is a material and mental construction (Menin 2003 p. 1; Cohen 1985). Zenker and Braun's umbrella and sub-brand categories, along with Avraham's strategies of image improvement are used here in interpreting the ways in which participants both distanced and aligned their places with other places simultaneously in contributing to their place brand. The participants appeared to adopt strategies to associate or separate their communities with others in order to improve upon their place and create a distinctive identity. As asserted by Malpas, "no place exists except in relation to other places and every place contains other places that are related within it" (Malpas n.d. in Cresswell 2015 p.48).

As mentioned in the previous section, Zenker and Braun's ideas of umbrella and sub-brand categories provide a useful lens through which to analyse the ways in which participants talked about the differences and similarities of their places to other places. As previously discussed in Chapter 3, the umbrella and sub-brand categories work by creating subcategories of the place brand which come under a wider place brand umbrella, which can accommodate a wider diversity of needs/interests (2017 pp. 277). As asserted by Avarot, place-making should be accommodating of changing use and multiple relations (2002 p. 207). Doing so enables the creation of a coherent place brand which is able to target a wider

audience. Appealing to a wider target audience is important in ensuring a place brand is perceived positively, the brand effects of which according to Zenker and Braun are higher levels of identification with a place and higher levels of satisfaction with a place (Zenker and Braun 2017 p. 276). In other words, if a place brand is perceived positively, the place is likely to be perceived positively and therefore the place seen as successful. For example, Orchard Park may come under the wider place brand umbrella of Cambridge widening the brand appeal to a wider target audience. Certainly, the some of the marketing materials reflected the idea of Orchard Park as a sub-brand of the Cambridge brand, referring to Cambridge University (LIH 2014). Such an approach may be useful in, for example, countering a negative reputation of a place within Cambridge by utilising its more favourable reputation. In the case of Cambourne a small number of participants spoke of a brand campaign referring to good schools in a neighbouring village to improve its brand when Cambourne had no secondary school.

Participants from Cambourne often referred to Cambridge when relaying their experiences of living in Cambourne, in ways which suggested they saw Cambourne as a sub-brand of the umbrella Cambridge brand, seeing that as advantageous. Participants sought to piggyback on the more favourable and successful brand narrative of Cambridge. One participant used the term 'piggyback' to refer to his strategy for attracting clients to his home-based business in Cambourne;

> I use the 'Cambridge' name so I piggyback the Cambridge banner so I'm really trying to push the Cambridge name (Simon).

This suggests that this participant saw value being added to the sub-brand of Cambourne by drawing on the more affluent Cambridge brand and the brand offering of Cambourne would not be sufficient to meet his current needs. Zenker and Braun see places as comprising a package of locations, within which one chooses a part for use and perceives it through this part (2017 p. 274). The above participant is packaging Cambourne with Cambridge to maximise his returns on the Cambridge brand and his investment in choosing to live in Cambourne.

Participants did not appear to be adopting this as a strategy because they perceived Cambourne to have a negative reputation and needed to adopt Avraham's strategy of offering a counter message. Rather participants appeared to be attempting to improve the reputation of Cambourne through Avraham's geographic association whereby there is "a tendency to link with more prestigious locations in the attempt to be presented as belonging to these locations or identified with them" (Avraham

2004 p. 278). This geographic association with Cambridge seemed to be a common strategy for participants. When participants were discussing their experiences of living in Cambourne and why they lived there, many referred to its proximity to Cambridge seeing it as advantageous to be so close to a prestigious location, but without the expense and especially when comparing, as many did, to other new builds closer to Cambridge such as Orchard Park and Trumpington Meadows. Participants perceived themselves to benefit from the Cambridge brand but without the Cambridge brand expense; "you'll never get in Cambridge what you can get in Cambourne…it's pretty close to my ideal community" (Carly).

Participants perceived that the developers too used Avraham's strategy of geographic association by linking Cambourne with a neighbouring village in which the schools had such a good reputation, that according to one participant;

> Because Comberton [Village College] has such a good reputation […] they were going to be using it heavily as a selling point (Wilma).

While Cambourne was without its own secondary school, which lasted long into its development, the secondary school in the neighbouring village was used, which consistently receives an 'Outstanding' OfSTED report. Rather than seeing the lack of a secondary school as a disadvantage, a deficit or a marker of an unsuccessful community, the narrative was changed or rather the network of associations was manipulated to create a better place brand, as explained by Sevin (2014 p. 48) to create an advantage where one previously did not exist. This may speak to the success of what Allen and Crookes see as place-making as a composite of "lifestyle offers" intended to attract specific groups (2009 p. 459). Parents now had access to a village college with 'outstanding' OfSTED results rather than no secondary school or college. This suggests that in a place where the place brand is incomplete or may appear to be insufficient to meet the needs and demands of the target audience, this can be overcome by adopting Avraham's geographic association and creating a network of sub-brands.

Strategies of geographic association and separation were also evident at Orchard Park which was described by one participant as "sought after" location because it is seen as being i*n Cambridge* and Cambridge already has an established brand as an affluent place. Orchard Park is perceived of as being 'in Cambridge' although administratively it sits outside the Cambridge city boundary and sits within the

Histon and Impington Ward of South East Cambridgeshire (Hembrow, n.d.). As noted by another participant for whom the administrative boundaries did not accord with practicalities, "in practical terms it clearly is [in Cambridge]" and which he thought would "come as a shock to people that move here" (Brian). Comments from another Orchard Park participant pointed to the complexity and fluidity of the symbolic and administrative boundaries stating;

> it feels like Orchard Park is in Cambridge, even though technically we're in Impington, but I don't feel part of Histon or Impington and the A14 is a barrier to that so we feel more attached to Cambridge (Jane)

The complexity and fluidity of the boundaries expressed by these participants is consistent with Boisen *et al's* (2011) assertion that socially constructed spatial elements of a place by its inhabitants do not necessarily accord with administrative borders (in Zenker and Braun 2017 p. 275). The participants above then perceive Orchard Park as both belonging to Cambridge and separate from it simultaneously. This association with Cambridge and its separation from Cambridge speaks to both Zenker and Braun's (2017) sub-brand categories and to Avraham's geographic association and separation. As explained previously, the first is where a place is linked with more prestigious places in order to be seen as belonging to them and can occur when places in the periphery associate themselves with the centre. Conversely in geographic separation places attempt to distance themselves from the problematic areas, sometimes by means of changing the place name. In doing so they are constructing symbolic boundaries in their minds and thinking themselves into difference to those outside, and thinking themselves into sameness with those inside (Cohen 1985). Orchard Park had already separated itself from the problematic Arbury by changing its name. In the place consumers' network of associations, Orchard Park is perceived as belonging to Cambridge, despite physical and administrative boundaries. Through Avraham's geographic association and separations strategies, Orchard Park is both a part *of* prestigious Cambridge and apart *from* the problematic Arbury. Participants found a way to make their community successful to them. This association with the Cambridge brand could contribute to any counter message to challenge a perceived negative reputation of Orchard Park.

Efforts to create a distinct boundary for Cambourne employed a number of visual expressions. Within Cambourne, there are (currently) 3 villages – Upper, Lower

and Great- each with its own colour coded street furniture to further distinguish its identity. There is a 'Welcome to Cambourne' sign at the main entrance and signs to indicate the separate villages within Cambourne and their boundaries. It was only the parish councillors to whom I spoke who talked about Cambourne as a place with these separate villages. The other Cambourne participants spoke of Cambourne as one whole when discussing their experience of it, not of its constituent parts or as communities within a community. This may speak to the success of Zenker and Braun's strategy of creating an umbrella brand of Cambourne as a whole, with seamless sub brand categories to accommodate the separate villages, enabling community members to identify with both with no conflicts (2017 p.278). This could further suggest that there is an alignment in the minds of my participants of the symbolic, geographical and administrative boundaries of their place.

8.5. History, Heritage and Landscape

One of the important elements in place-branding identified by Lucarelli and Berg (2011) was that of making a connection to the history and heritage of a place. However, this can prove challenging when building a new community from scratch where a history does not yet exist. There were strategies employed by the developers/place-making professionals which attempted to make such connections in order to incorporate these into the place brands. I will discuss these and how the participants responded to these and the extent to which they were successfully incorporated into the place brand to create a successful place narrative in the minds of the place consumers.

There were attempts by the developer in the early days of Orchard Park's development to ensure its identity was rooted in the history of the area in which it was being built, thus creating a distinct identity. This forms part of what Lew refers to as 'creative place-making', whereby works of art, monuments or other artistic strategies are employed to signify a historic or cultural connection (2017 pg. 455). Cresswell notes the use of such strategies when creating new places in an attempt to connect the material structure to "mythological histories" (2015 p. 140). The 'creative place-making' which took place at Orchard Park involved the commissioning of an artist during 2005-2009 who engaged the first few residents in a community based public art programme which used archaeological finds in public art pieces and in the community centre (MacKinnon-Day n.d.). One participant remarked at the success of this initiative and how it provided;

> There's lots of connection to the history of the land not just some random field. (Jane).

For this participant then, the intentionality of the creative place-making strategy was successful in helping to cement a distinct identity rooted in the history of the place. Making a connection to the history transformed the empty and meaningless space of a "random field" into a place with meaning. The connection to the history of the place enabled her to identify with the place. According to Zenker and Braun, enabling an identification with a place is associated with higher levels of satisfaction with that place, greater place attachment and an intention to stay (2017 p. 277). At the same time though, the participant above liked her place because it was "shiny and new", reflecting its lack of history but nonetheless still enabling the participant to identify with the place. These seemingly contradictory perceptions held by this participant of the place having a sense of history and yet to establish a history through its newness highlights the complexity of place-branding and the multi-layered nature of place identity (Boisen *et al* 2011; Kavaratzis and Hatch 2013). In contrast to the view that the intention of the creative place-making above was successful, another participant thought more needed to be done in order to cement an identity for Orchard Park and create a specific brand:

> I know it's called Orchard Park but where's the orchard?! They bulldozed the orchard to make the place. Why isn't there an Orchard café? It isn't enough to have it on the kid's school uniform. (Kathy)

For this participant, the branding process is incomplete and unsuccessful. The brand could be said to be lacking in credibility for this participant. Brand credibility refers to the believability of a brand to deliver what is promised (Erdem and Swait 2004 p. 192). The place brand has not been sufficiently communicated through the spatial design of the physical place, one of three place brand communication types identified by Braun *et al* (2014), and so is incomplete.

One of the community workers was critical of the use of such art projects as a strategy for community building, suggesting they were not inclusive enough;

> These art projects tend to attract people who are more likely to want to get involved in that kind of project and the working classes are less likely to see themselves as being involved in that. I'm not convinced that social housing tenants are involved. Isn't the point that art is supposed to be becoming more inclusive?! (Belinda).

Although developers sought to create a particular identity and place brand for Orchard Park through the strategy of creative place-making, for the above participants, their attempts were unsuccessful. By "bulldozing" the orchard, a part of the history and heritage of the place had been lost, severing its connection to the brand that developers were trying to create and promote. The network of associations here needed to be widened for this participant in order to create a place brand and identity that she could identify with. As pointed out by Lucarelli and Berg, connection to the history and heritage of a place is an important element of creating a place brand and identity (2011 p. 14). Similarly, for a community worker, she believed the perception of art being for the 'middle classes' would exclude others. This exclusion could result in fewer being able to identify with the place brand and perceive it and the place as successful. Boisen *et al* point out that the use of visual expressions, such as a colour scheme or slogan or as described by the participant above a logo, has become a signature element of successful place-branding (2018 p. 5). However, Zenker and Braun assert that creating a successful place brand and identity relies on more than just the use of a visual expression (2017 p. 276).

In addition to visual expressions of identity in place-branding, Zenker and Braun refer to communication of a place brand through the physical place, for example, in the design of public places. Cambourne's identity is bound up in values of sustainability and the spatial design was constructed to incorporate lakes, green spaces and wildlife areas (Platt 2007). While this conveys a visual expression of the place brand it also conveys a behavioural expression of the place and influences the spatial behaviour of the target audience, which according to Noronha, is an objective of place-branding and which in turn contributes to the "development and sustainability of the place's distinct identity" (2017 p. 92). This is a strategy that appeared to be successful among participants as several drew attention to the green spaces in Cambourne as a defining feature of the place identity. Several Cambourne participants praised its green spaces, an element that featured in the developer's vision and one which they believed set Cambourne apart from other similar places;

> That's the difference here that's worked really well, the consideration of green space, we love the lakes, we're very lucky to have those on our doorstep. (Simon)
>
> Walking around in Cambourne, we're never more than 5 minutes away from the country (Shaun)

That so many participants drew attention to the green, open spaces and country park in Cambourne, as opposed to other elements, indicates that the branding strategy to have its identity bound up with such elements has been a successful branding strategy. The participants didn't just draw attention to Cambourne's green spaces, they spoke about them positively, which Zenker and Braun (2017) assert, leads to higher levels of satisfaction with a place, identification and attachment to a place and a greater likelihood of staying, all of which might increase the chances of community members promoting a place to others, as place ambassadors (Braun et al 2013).

8.6. Place Ambassadors- the ultimate demonstration of effective branding?

If the processes of place-branding discussed in the previous sections are successful, in that a place brand is created that place consumers can feel satisfied with, identify with, develop an attachment to a place and stay in a place, then a logical follow on from this might be that they become what Braun *et al* (2013) termed 'place ambassadors'. Place ambassadors are one of three roles suggested by Braun et al that residents can undertake in place-branding processes, roles they argue that have been neglected. These were briefly outlined in Chapter 3. These roles were residents as an integrated part of a deliberate strategy, as place ambassadors where residents actively promote their place brand and as citizens, in that they choose their local government officials and have political power.

As place ambassadors, they communicate the brand and come to be seen as trustworthy and authentic brand communicators because they are residents or insiders (Braun et al 2013 p. 21). Place ambassadors may defend the place brand and promote the place brand to insiders or outsiders in a range of ways.

My participants appeared to be divided into two 2 groups- indifferent or enthusiasts. The group of enthusiasts could be interpreted as fulfilling Braun *et al's* (2013) role of place ambassadors, the essence of which is captured in this participant's declaration about Orchard Park; "I love living here!" (Brian) and who vowed to say good things about living in Orchard Park. According to Zenker and Braun, this kind of informal word-of-mouth place brand communication is the most effective in securing place brand and identity (2017 p. 276). If becoming a place ambassador merely means promoting a positive image of the place, then many of my

participants could be seen as place ambassadors and a minority categorised as rather indifferent about their community. This indifference captured by this participant's account of her experience of living in Cambourne, "yeh, I don't mind it." (Theresa). Braun *et al* (2013) asserted that the more active in the community residents are, the more likely they are to become place ambassadors. There was some weight to this but not consistently applied to the participants who spoke enthusiastically about their place. For example, the tables below show the different ways in some of the same participants are categorised depending on the behaviours entailed in being a place ambassador. If being a place ambassador is simply about promoting a positive image of place, then more people could be categorised as place ambassadors than compared to those who are "strongly involved".

Place Ambassadors as Promoting Positive Image	
Enthusiasts	**Indifferent**
Wilma, Mike, Craig, Benton, Jane, Brian, Simon, Shaun, Dave, Martin, Wendy	Theresa, Cleo, Carly, Kathy

Table 5

Place Ambassadors as "Strongly Involved" (Braun *et al* 2013)	
Enthusiasts	**Indifferent**
Wilma, Mike, Craig, Benton, Martin, Wendy	Theresa, Cleo, Carly, Kathy, Jane, Brian, Simon, Shaun, Dave

Table 6

Perhaps unsurprisingly, participants who were members of their parish and community councils spoke most enthusiastically about their communities. This was especially true for one participant at Orchard Park in response to rumours he had heard about increasing ASB which in his mind would damage the place brand;

> there is good relationships with neighbours, there is community cohesion, we have state of the art equipment in our play park areas and this has led to other people coming from other communities to use our facilities…people from other communities come and use your services then these pockets of ASB happen; I won't say within Orchard Park but people come from outside (Benton)

Similarly, the parish councillors at Cambourne informed me that Cambourne was a source of jealously for other villages. While it might be unsurprising that parish councillors could be seen as place ambassadors, similar strategies were evident from a few community members who were not parish councillors, one in particular who reported being strongly involved in community affairs. This participant is defending the good reputation of Cambourne and blaming outsiders for tarnishing its name;

> I get it all the time- people ask where I live and I say Cambourne and they're like 'oh, is it nice?' I'm like, you live on Mill road and every time I go down mill road there's someone shooting heroin! The worst thing that happens in my area is there's a crisp packet blowing down the road. Most the perceptions and views about Cambourne are from people who have never been there, never-mind lived there (Craig)

The above participant reported having been "involved in everything except the parish committee" in Cambourne since the beginning and further declared that living in Cambourne "was like living the dream" in that it was "an ideal community". That the above participant 'get[s] it all the time' suggests that his defence of Cambourne is an endeavour he is involved in often. This participant is perhaps the ideal place ambassador that Braun *et al* (2013) were describing. While many other participants spoke positively about their communities, for example "Its good, its cool…I just think it's great" (Dave, Cambourne), they did not report explicitly being "strongly involved citizens" as described by Braun *et al* (2013 p. 21). Indeed, Braun *et a*l do not specify what "strongly involved" looks like nor what behaviour beyond their "normal duties" in promoting the brand would entail. It could be interpreted that all of the participants who selected themselves to speak to a researcher to talk about their communities, and then did so in a positive way, are promoting a positive image of their community and can therefore be seen as place ambassadors, rather than just those few who explicitly reported being 'involved', whatever they may mean and however measured.

8.7. Conclusion

Boisen *et al* (2018) say that place-branding has been successful when people, in general and over longer periods of time, hold a favourable reputation of a place. Boisen *et al* did not indicate a time period during which a favourable reputation of place would develop among residents. However, among my participants, the extent

to which they held a favourable reputation of their communities were broadly similar regardless of how long they had resided in the place. While participants were critical about some parts of their places, overall perceptions were positive, suggesting in the sense of holding a favourable reputation of a place, place-branding has been successful.

Perhaps the ultimate indicator of how successful place-branding has been, is the extent to which residents become what Braun *et al* (2013) term "place ambassadors". Using Braun et al's contained yet imprecise conception of "place ambassadors" would see very few of my participants considered as fulfilling this role as only a small number reported being involved in community activities. The basis on which Braun et al judge residents being place ambassadors needs clarification. For example, Braun *et al* refer to place ambassadors being "strongly involved", demonstrating "positive behaviour" which extend beyond their "normal duties" but do not specify what each of these might look like in practice. I would conceive of their role of place ambassadors more widely to include those who utilised opportunities to promote their community, regardless of any other involvement. For example, each of the participants who selected themselves to speak to a researcher about their community and then did so positively, should be seen as place ambassadors. Braun *et al* (2013) also point to the potential of social media in creating and promoting place brands and while numbers of likes, followers and members were greater on the unofficial Facebook pages than the official ones, very few participants spoke of their membership to them or their use of them as a way to promote their places. It may be that such groups/pages are seen as an outlet for complaining rather than a tool to promote their place. Certainly, the member and follower numbers for the unofficial pages and groups suggest these may be an untapped resource in place-branding strategies and for increasing place ambassadors.

That the official Facebook pages have significantly fewer members and followers suggests, that residents prefer to organise their own social media sites. If the potential of social media is to be utilised in place-branding strategies and in wider place-making strategies, then ways to facilitate residents' own organic creation of these need to be identified. Perhaps having the opposition of the official or engineered social media sites against which to define themselves is sufficient to give rise to the unofficial, organically formed sites.

Zenker and Braun suggest that greater satisfaction with a place leads to a positive evaluation of a place. However, that rests on ensuring the creation of a place brand

whose offerings are both broad and detailed enough to meet diverse demands and needs. Residents, or place consumers as they are often referred to, need a place brand or place identity which they can identify with (Zenker & Braun, 2017 p. 275). For some participants, they were unable to identify with the place brand which had been created and promoted by the developers and other place-making professionals. A lack of identification with a place can discourage the development of high levels of satisfaction of a place, attachment to it, long term stay and may result in perceptions of a place as unsuccessful. The data from the participants in this research suggests that the brand offering a place needs to be more diverse, by utilising Zenker and Braun's (2017) notion of creating sub-brand categories. For example, 'its great for families' Cambourne brand needs to diversify in order to appeal to a wider target audience. Another way of creating a place brand with which residents can identify is to employ the use of visual expressions of identity. That residents created their own name sign for Orchard Park in its early days, suggests the need for a clear identity and one that was free from association with a place perceived to have a bad reputation. Creating a place sign with the place name is one way of doing this (Masuda and Bookman 2018) and one visual expression of identity which is missing from Orchard Park.

The Sustainable Communities Plan state that communities should offer a sense of place, which is defined as a place with a positive 'feeling' for people and local distinctiveness (2005 p. 58; 2003 p. 5). One way of contributing to this is through the development of a place brand with which residents can identify. From the data analysis and discussion above, this has been achieved for some of the participants in this research but not for others. The communities then are successful for some but not others suggesting that policy does not entirely correspond with their lived experience. In order to make communities more successful, places need to diversify the brand offerings to enable a greater number of people to identify with the place brand and hence the place, increasing the likelihood of community members perceiving it as a successful place. Avraham's strategies of geographic separation and geographic association (2004), along with Zenker and Braun's sub-brand categories (2017), show promise in facilitating this and bridging the gap between policy and lived experience. My use of concepts and strategies from the place-branding literature to interpret and analyse data from my participants has yielded insights into how community members themselves engage in the construction of their place identity through their everyday lived experiences. They are what Aitken and Campelo refer to as "co-creators" of their place brand (2011 p.

913). Much of the focus in the place-branding literature has been on strategies employed by place making professionals, rather than the residents themselves, and primarily at the city or region level. My application of this literature at levels below the city and region, as well as my focus on community members' experiences of place-branding makes a contribution to knowledge in this area.

9. Findings and Analysis Theme 2: Expectations of Community

The following data theme and analysis is developed from the ways in which participants talked about what they expected their communities to contain. The subheadings refer to the ways in which participants grouped different elements of their community. Participants expressed expectations in relation to a range of amenities, such as shops on the high street or in the community's retail centre. Participants expressed views about housing diversity within their communities and their perceived impact of that on the success of their community. Participants' perceptions of their community's amenities and housing tenures impacted on their social interactions within their community. When discussing their expectations of their community, participants related these to the institutional actors involved in place-making, such as the parish and district councils and developers. Here participants expressed expectations about the different roles of these actors and the effectiveness of those roles in creating their communities. The ways in which participants discussed their expectations of their communities can be related to parts of the Sustainable Communities Plan, such as effective leadership, accountable governance, vibrant centres and the diversity of housing mix (ODPM 2003). These elements are referred to in the forthcoming analysis where appropriate.

9.1. Developing Expectations

The expectations literature (see Chapter 7) has been drawn upon in the development of this data analysis. The expectations literature did not feature in my original literature review but has been explored in response to themes developing in the data. The expectations literature was developed in the field of consumer satisfaction but has expanded to other areas of research in recent years. These expanded areas include studies in public services and tourism but not in context of creating new communities, which can been see as a hybrid of public and private/ commercial services. My use is a new application. This new application yields important insight into how people form expectations about their communities, what for them were salient features, how they perceive these expectations to be met or unmet and the ways they are satisfied or not as a result and see their communities

as successful. In addition, a greater understanding of how expectations work in the real world, as opposed to the artificial conditions of the experimental and survey designs which have dominated the expectations research.

There is a body of literature on expectations which posits that the extent to which our expectations are met, confirmed or disconfirmed, influences our levels of satisfaction. This literature originated in consumer satisfaction research but has more recently been applied in other fields such as hospitality, tourism and public services. Much of the research investigates the relationship between expectations and levels of satisfaction to identify the extent of any causal links (for example see Oliver 1977, 1980, 1993; 2014; Cadotte *et al* 1987). If causal links can be identified, then it may be possible to manipulate expectations in order to improve levels of satisfaction. Much of this research seeks to replicate previous studies in order to validate the constructs and the general principles of the theory (for example see Van Ryzin 2004; 2006; Brown *et al* 2008; James 2009; 2011a, 2011b; Van Ryzin 2013; James and Mosely 2014; Petrovsky *et al* 2017; Filtenborg *et al* 2017; Grimmelikhuijsen and Porumbescu 2017; Hjortskov 2019). The research has suggested that the relationship between expectations and satisfaction levels is complex and depends on other factors such as service performance, experienced-based norms and the nature of the original expectations. It is suggested that there is a hierarchy of expectations, ranging from an ideal, perfect scenario at the highest level to the worst possible imaginable outcome at the lowest level (Groholdt 2015).

There are different levels of expectations which relate to a hierarchy of expectations (Groholdt 2015 p.110-111). At the top sits ideal expectations, reflecting a perfect, excellent standard. This is followed by normative expectations reflecting ideas of what ought to happen, based on little or no experience or information. The most frequently expressed and used by researchers is predictive expectations, which is what people think will happen based on all available information. The minimally tolerable expectation sits at the bottom level of acceptable quality. The worst possible expectation is the worst possible outcome that can be imagined and sits outside the above zone of tolerance. Measures of the gap between expectations and perceived quality can be done by a subtractive disconfirmation, which is the perceived quality rating minus the expectations rating or by perceived disconfirmation, which is the subjective evaluation of difference between perceived quality and expectations (Groholdt 2015 p. 111).

In my research then, participants may have expectations of their ideal community, based on nostalgic ideas of community where quaint buildings line the high street (Kerrigan 2018); normative expectations of what a successful community *should* contain, such as a post-office, a GP, shops and green spaces; predictive expectations based on marketing brochures, the local development plan or the masterplan; and minimally tolerable expectations where community members may 'make-do' with a portable post-office, as in the case of Cambourne. At the bottom of this hierarchy of expectations is the worst possible imaginable outcome. For some participants in Orchard Park, this is reflected in a designation of it as 'Beirut' by some of them and in a national newspaper by Germaine Greer (Greer 2009) and in Cambourne's designation of it as Crimebourne (Page 2008).

I am not seeking to replicate these studies nor to demonstrate a causal relationship between expectations and levels of satisfaction with a particular product or service. The relevance of this body of literature comes from the ways in which my participants spoke of their expectations of what they expected their communities to look like. My participants' expectations related to amenities, services and housing and the extent to which these expectations were met- confirmed or disconfirmed- to how satisfied or happy they were with their communities. Therefore, the expectations literature offers a useful analytical framework with which to interpret and analyse the data from my participants.

9.2. Facilities on the High Street

Research indicates that the traditional high street is in decline, no longer seen as the commercial hub with a catchment of small independent retailers at its core (Carmona 2015) and has changed beyond all recognition over the past few decades (Townsend 2017). Rather, the contemporary high street, we are informed is to become, an "activity-based community gathering place where retail is a smaller part of a wider range of uses and activities." (HCLG 2019 p. 19, para. 38). Carmona asserts that perceptions of the high street have changed, for some no longer seen as the natural centre of communities. However, for many it still "represents the quintessential heart of the community" serving as a place for social interaction, the idyllic image of which contains a "wide variety of small local shops, ensuring easy pedestrian accessibility to everyday goods and services'' (Carmona 2015 p. 3). The Sustainable Communities Plan states that communities are to have economically viable and attractive town centres with a good range of affordable public,

community, voluntary and private services (e.g. retail, fresh food, commercial, utilities, information and advice) which are accessible to the whole community (ODPM 2005 p. 59).

For my participants, the high street, formed an essential feature of their perceptions of a successful community. The idea of the high street (and its associated streets-market street, main street, etc.) denotes certain things and engenders expectations of what is contained therein and associations of use with certain groups, for example discount stores with poor people (Townsend 2017 p. 168). My participants discussed high street shops in the broader context of facilities in their community and expressed a combination of ideal, normative and predictive expectations and varying levels of dissatisfaction when these were not met. In this section I will discuss the ways in which participants formed their expectations around different elements of 'community' which they identified as important.

The provision of a good range and diversity of shops was a topic that participants mentioned frequently and one which encapsulated the traditional high street, as mentioned above. For some it was the lack of facilities full stop, as one participant at Orchard Park explains;

> the age-old problem of lack of provision of facilities…it was years before we got a cash machine; we don't have a post box. Someone wanted to open a pharmacy and [we] ought to at the very least have a doctors too. (Brian)

The participant's characterisation of the lack of facilities as an "age old problem" implies this is a familiar or recurring problem. The absence of the facilities mentioned by the participant above suggests that the criteria laid out in the Sustainable Communities Plan have not been met in relation to having an attractive centre with a good range of services (ODPM 2005 p. 59). The range of facilities referred to above was representative of the participant's expectations of what his community should look like. This is an expression of normative expectations. Although the above participant did not have his expectations met in relation to facilities, he did not express dissatisfaction with his community overall. On the contrary, he said that Orchard Park was a "great place to live", which exceeded his predictive expectation that it would be "lonely and soulless" (Brian). This participant had his expectations both met and unmet, yet still expressed satisfaction with his community. James (2011b) asserted that unmet normative expectations would trigger dissatisfaction, however this did not happen for this participant. It could be

that having his predictive expectations exceeded, mitigated the effect of his unmet normative expectations, leading to his expression of overall satisfaction with his community. This participant's satisfaction despite not having his expectations met entirely could also suggest that the extent to which they were, met some minimum tolerable level (Ennew et al 1993 p. 60). This could also suggest that although participants may express dissatisfaction with certain aspects/features of their community, their satisfaction derives from an overall assessment of their community, not solely derived from its constituent parts. This goes against James' assertion that satisfaction with different parts needs to be disaggregated (2011a). James suggested that satisfaction of different services should be disaggregated in order to assess expectations and satisfaction. However, the data from my participants suggest that their judgments of satisfaction derive from an assessment of their community overall. In other words, it is possible for participants to express dissatisfaction with individual constituent parts of their community, yet still express satisfaction with their community overall.

Participants developed predictive expectations of what their community and high street would look like because they were "sold on the developer's vision of the high street" (Simon) which had failed to materialise. Although the participants had prior expectations of what their community and high street would look like based on past experiences, and the associations that the idea of the high street engenders, these expectations were further affirmed by the developers, with the provision of information about performance. Participants held the developers accountable for poor performance and unmet expectations which somewhat contradicts James' (2016) assertion that management of information and service failure will attract less blame apportion if managed by a private firm of which a developer is. Several participants expressed a sense of frustration with the developers and the unexpected delays of their aspirational high street and their community, the exasperation captured in the following participant interview extracts from two parish councillors;

> At the beginning we were told it would be 4 years and the community would be ready, everything would be ready but now were talking about 10 years and they're still building (Benton- Orchard Park)
>
> There was a bit of discontent with the developers because I was told in December 1999 that the high street would be built by the following Christmas, but the high street's still got nothing on it 16 years later and the supermarket was 4 years late. (Wilma- Cambourne)

The above extracts represent the unexpected. The expectations of the participants are not being frustrated in that they won't be met at some point in the future, and that is the nature of expectations, that they are predictive; something will or will not happen in the future; rather it is no longer possible to identify when in the future their expectations will be met. The participants above are left in a state of ambiguity. Their frustration at the unexpected could have been lessened by adopting the strategy suggested by James (2011b) of providing information in order to manage the participant's expectations (p. 1420). The management of the participant's expectations with the provision of information about, for example delays or changes to plans, could be seen as lowering the expectations, which increases the likelihood of participants expressing satisfaction and seeing their community as successful (James 2011b p. 1421). This also points to the expectations-disconfirmation as ongoing process in which expectations are met or unmet, adapted to accommodate new information, confirmed or disconfirmed again and so on. In the context of creating successful communities, where community is never a finished product (Day 2006 p. 114) but an ongoing process of building, maintaining and recreating, expectations are never fully met or unmet, but always in a period of flux and change. Expectations may be disconfirmed in the present, but one cannot know that they will not be confirmed at some point in the future. There is then a constant need/requirement to continuously manage expectations (from the perspective of service providers, etc.) and for those waiting for their expectations to be met, to continuously amend in light of new information.

There was a perception among participants that the provision of information about expectations not being met would reduce the likelihood of apportioning blame and dissatisfaction. This is in stark contrast to Van Ryzin's (2004) assertion that any strategy to lower expectations would also lower satisfaction. Similarly, James (2011a) concluded that providing information about poor performance lowered expectations and satisfaction, while information about excellent performance raised expectations and satisfaction. One participant in particular indicated that prior knowledge of delays would mean that "people wouldn't feel let down" (Wilma), a sentiment echoed by a participant who had been informed of timeframes and delays;

> The first 2 years we were on a building site but that was ok because we knew it was going to be like that (Jane)

The above participant did not have her expectations lowered but rather adapted her expectations to accommodate new information (Oliver 1980). The provision of information as a strategy to manage expectations is dependent on other factors according to James (2011a; 2016) and James and Van Ryzin (2017) such as type of information, the credibility of the organisation and the messenger of the information. James and Van Ryzin (2017) suggest that "politically unattractive" organisations are seen as less credible and so information about good performance from them is viewed with scepticism. In my research, the developers were not viewed positively by the participants, so falling into James and Ryzin's category of "unattractive". That the participants' expectations appeared to be managed by the provision of information from the developers suggests that although unattractive, their information was still viewed as credible. This is contrary to James and Van Ryzin's (2017) findings and may say something about who the participants perceived to be in control.

The above analysis suggests that ongoing communication about developments is key in lessening any frustration and increasing the likelihood that community members will see their communities as successful. James (2016) suggestion of a delegated unit to manage information could see a role for community workers in acting as a link between developers and residents, especially in the early stages of development when organisations such as parish or community councils have yet to be established. Community workers are variously employed in local authorities, parish councils and voluntary sector organisations and their potential critical contribution to such a situation noted elsewhere, implicitly and explicitly. For example, Johnstone *et al* refer to translators who are needed to move between communities and organisations (2013 p. 4925). Bailey *et al* see community workers as important for supporting opportunities for social interaction and as good practice for successful communities (2006 p. 39). I have identified the need for community workers in creating successful communities in previous research (Stott *et al* 2009). Having a community worker in such a role could help fulfil the criteria from the Sustainable Communities Plan which requires strong, informed and effective partnerships that lead by example (e.g. government, business, community) which appears to be lacking in this context (ODPM 2005 p. 57). This could help bridge the gap between the policy aspiration and the lived experience of the community members.

There was a clear divide among the participants in how they discussed the provision of facilities and the impact of those on their communities. While the majority of

participants made reference to the importance of the availability of facilities, shops, services, etc., it was the participants located in Cambourne who equated different retail brands with different social class groupings and expressed concerns about the perceived impact of that on their community. The participants' discussions of class and their response to this will be examined in the next section.

9.2.1. High Street Low Class

The participants invoked a narrative of class when discussing their high street and their expectations of what it should contain. In doing so they engaged in what Watt refers to as selective belonging, a form of disaffiliation, whereby residents "symbolically and practically disengage `local' places, notably shops, pubs, and schools, and their lower class and not-quite-white populations" (Watt 2009 p. 2874). Atkinson proposes three types of disaffiliation which exist on a continuum moving from low level insulation to the extreme incarceration of the gated community (Atkinson 2006). Atkinson relates these practices to residential choice, in other words residents' choice of neighbourhoods. However, this idea can be applied and widened to include not just which neighbourhood, but where in the neighbourhood social interactions take place and indeed how it structures interactions in the neighbourhood.

Preceding this disaffiliation was a designation of social class categories to the high street retailers by a group of participants, implicit in which were practices of boundary marking between themselves and dangerous 'others' (Atkinson 2006). Boundary marking is characteristic of Cohen's symbolic communities wherein boundaries are created and recreated through social interactions, meaning and perceptions (1985 pp. 12-16). The participants believed the shops would attract groups of the same social class to the community as its designated status, impacting on the status of their community. In other words, the existence of high-end retail would attract the more affluent to the area whilst low-end retail would attract poorer groups;

> All we're worried about is lower income- everything is geared to that rather than middle and that's a growing segment of Cambourne as opposed to considering the middle to the higher end (Simon)

When participants were discussing their expectations of the high street and facilities in the wider community, they referred to the range of shops and amenities of a typical/traditional high street. For many this included a diversity of shops, cafes, a

pharmacy and somewhere within the community, a community facility and a GP surgery and almost always, a decent pub. As participants discussed the specificity of the shops they expected to see on their high street and what they currently had, they allocated social class categories to them. The implications for participants of perceiving shops as belonging to different social classes was that the shops would be seen, by outsiders, as a reflection of the dominant social class of the community in which they were located. Following on from this, participants believed that the shops would attract those of the same [lower] social class to the community.

Participants were critical of the dominance of 'bargain' shops in Cambourne. Cambourne is dominated by a large Morrisons supermarket, a large Home Bargains store, Pound World and a discount pet store within the retail complex on the high street. There was a view that the provision of such bargain shops and an absence of higher end retail, such as Marks and Spencer's, was not an accurate reflection of the demographic in Cambourne. One participant referred to the provision of shops as "a bit discounty" and like many other participants was keen to have a Waitrose or Marks and Spencer's, which are "nicer shops" (Simon). Another Cambourne participant believed the presence of Morrison's was having a detrimental impact on attracting higher end retailers to the area because when retailers come to do their market research on setting up a local branch of an alternative higher end retailer;

> they see a Morrisons and they think ok that's C, D kind of demographic and they think nah that's not really what I'm looking for" (Craig).

The C and D demographics that the participant refers to is an approximated social grade derived from a socio-economic classification produced by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) (ONS 2016). The C and D categories refer to mainly the working classes, although category C includes C1 and C2, the former including clerical supervisory and some professional occupations. The implication here is that Morrison's serves the working classes and if the main supermarket is a reflection of the demographics of Cambourne, then this is incorrect. This participant, and several others in Cambourne, believed Morrison's, as a working-class supermarket, would attract the working classes to Cambourne, something these participants were not keen to do. By the same logic, provision of higher social class shops, such as Waitrose or Marks and Spencer's would attract the middle classes to Cambourne,

> Put a little Waitrose in Cambourne it would do really well 'cause there's a lot of people here with a good level of expendable income" (Craig).

The impression being given here that Cambourne is really a middle-class community, rather than a working-class community. They perceive their community as middle-class but do not see that reflected in the facilities in the built environment**.** The ways in which these participants talked about the working-class status of the shops suggests that they perceive working class communities as stigmatised communities with a spoiled identity, in Goffman's terms (1963). These participants then were engaging in strategies to avoid becoming a stigmatised community by looking for disidentifiers and prestige symbols (Goffman 1963 pp. 44-45), such as the provision of a Waitrose, in order to invalidate the spoiled identity. These participants also pointed out that they did not really shop at Morrison's, "apart from nappies" rather they preferred to shop outside of Cambourne;

> We don't shop here or like the shops here. I'd like to see Sainsbury's, Tesco, or M&S […] nothing wrong in principle [with discount shops] but it reinforces a leapfrogging of the shops- they'll go out to villages (Shaun)

By not frequenting shops they perceived as lower social class shops, participants were designating themselves as not belonging to lower social classes, but were implicitly middle class from their desire to have Waitrose and Marks and Spencer's on their high street. This suggests that my participants had expectations that their community would be a middle-class community, one that is deserving of those 'expendable incomes'. This is what they thought their community *should* look like. On a hierarchy of expectations, their ideal expectation of community is a middle class one with Waitrose, instead of Morrison's. A community that is more working than middle class, dominated by Morrison's and Pound World, may represent their minimally tolerable expectation of community. They expected to see themselves reflected in the calibre of shops on their high street. Jones warns against seeing bargain shops as detrimental to the high street and tenant mix, as they are attracting younger, more affluent customers and increasing footfall (Jones 2012). This is in direct contrast to the perceptions of my participants who believed bargain shops would attract bargain people.

The participants' reluctance to shop at the high street stores can be interpreted as what Watt refers to as an exclusionary spatial strategy, whereby residents strategically avoid public spaces and withdraw from the neighbourhood (2006 p. 789). Applying Atkinson's model of disaffiliation, the withdrawing of using local facilities can be interpreted as incubation, whereby there is a need to engender a sense of safety, achieved by clustering with "people like us" (Atkinson 2006 p. 822). Rather than provide a sense of safety, the sustained segregation only leads to

increased fear and further withdrawal, the most extreme of which is the gated community (Atkinson 2006 p. 823). The consequences of sustained engagement in disaffiliation, is the reaffirmed and reproduced class identities and territorial stigmatisation, perpetuating existing inequalities and divisions (Benson and Jackson 2012 p. 798). The lack of interaction as indicated by my participants has implications for research which suggests that social interactions between different groups are essential for creating successful communities (see Johnson 2008 cited in Whetherell, Lafleche, and Berkeley 2008; Bailey *et al* 2006).

9.2.2. Roughs and Respectables

Participants spoke in a similar way about pubs and drinking establishments in their communities and engaged in similar strategies of disaffiliation. Participants in Cambourne are currently served by one pub and few spoke of using it or of knowing others who did. Perceptions of the pub were that it was a "white-van-man" pub (Shaun) and that it was the "resident alcoholics that keep it going" (Craig). The pub was seen as for the "lower income" groups;

> The lower income individuals and don't get me wrong I sometimes go in there on a Sunday night for a drink and to meet a friend but its more for the lower end. (Simon)

References to a "white-van-man" again has class connotations, referring to someone who is of low intelligence, a manual worker, culturally insular and intolerant, juxtaposed to professional metropolitan types (Anderson *et al* 2017; Gibbs 2017). The participants here are again pointing out the differences between themselves, who do not use the pub, and those who do use the pub, constructing symbolic boundaries. By not frequenting the "white-van-man" pub they are a class apart, of a different social class and standing. The use of the term 'white-van-man' also brings in 'race' and gender to the otherwise class dominated narrative. Markers of ethnicity and 'race' were not invoked by participants when distancing themselves from 'others'. Participants spoke of a social club as one alternative to the pub, but associated a similar status to it. The social club was described by one participant as a place where people drink Stella and "go there to get hammered". The preferred alternative among several participants in Cambourne was an independent café on the high street which arranged themed events and cocktail nights;

> The social club is soulless; people dump their children and get hammered. Same people go in there as go in the Monkfield Arms- another soulless place. Can go to the hotel (Belfry) but it's expensive. Greens (coffee shop) now do cocktails at weekends and it's nicer place to go but it's heaving at the weekend (Theresa)

Several of the participants admitted having attended evenings at the "nicer" café venue for a "little drop of wine and canapé" (Simon). The implication is here again of a higher social class by association and an implication of different behaviours and people. Participants who attend the independent café as an evening venue sip wine and drink cocktails, very different to the "resident alcoholics" who prop up the "white-van-man" pub. The rough/respectable distinction of the working class can be seen here. While the distinction marks the division of occupations between the respectable skilled and the rough unskilled, there are also behavioural elements comprising this distinction. The roughs are described in the literature as prone to violence, drunkenness and criminality, while the respectables engage in hard work, sobriety and have respect for the rule of law (Roberts 1995 cited in Watt 2006 p. 798). There are references from the participants here to drunkenness and violence among those who attend the pub and social club. The perception of the presence of violence is further reinforced by reference to the lager brand of Stella, otherwise known as 'wife-beater' in popular culture, primarily because of its relative high alcohol content (Singh 2008). It is an alcoholic beverage associated with the working classes. In stark contrast, the respectables are set apart from the roughs, presented as engaging in the respectable and middle-class activities of sipping wine and having canapés, with no indication of the presence of violence.

The provision of a pub or other drinking establishment did not appear to be an important feature of an ideal community for participants in Orchard Park. There was little mention of it and residents in Orchard Park must make do with the bars within in the two hotels located in Orchard Park or go further afield to the neighbouring Kings Hedges. There did not appear to be an appetite for a pub within Orchard Park among my participants. One participant mocked the sense of outrage expressed from others at the suggestion of providing an off-license in Orchard Park, "not in *my* middle-class community". This again points to perceptions of roughs and respectables and expectations of behaviour in relation to a specific kind of place. Similar to the associations of people and behaviour in the previous discussion of the pub and the café, the 'off-licence' may invoke visions of an unruly and drunk and disorderly clientele.

The policy aspiration of achieving opportunities for cultural and leisure activities has not aligned with the participants' lived experience (ODPM 2005 p. 56). Participants had normative expectations of a middle-class community but predictive expectations of a working-class community. Such expectations also appeared to underpin perceptions about housing tenure, to which discussion shall now turn.

9.3. Housing Tenure

Another sub-theme related to the proportions and locations of different housing tenure, such as properties available at market values for purchase or rent, shared equity and social housing and the perceived visibility of each. Out of the participants, two of the community workers reported living in social housing, two participants reported living in shared ownership and the remainder in private rented and owner-occupied. Planning obligations for affordable housing are sought in major developments, defined in NPPF as developments where 10 or more homes will be built or a site area of 0.5 hectares or more. Both Cambourne and Orchard Park were subject to planning obligations for affordable housing. The standard percentage of affordable housing in developments ranges from 35%-50%. South Cambridgeshire District Council (SCDC) aims for 40% affordable housing on all major developments, with a 70%/30% split between rented and intermediate (shared ownership) and subject to viability testing (SCDC 2010). There have been recent high-profile cases in the media where developers have used viability tests and permitted development rights to reduce significantly the percentage of affordable housing provided (Pidd and Cocksedge 2018; Wainwright 2014). Both Cambourne and Orchard Park's development plan called for 30% affordable housing. A scrutiny report for Orchard Park confirms the building of affordable housing in clusters ranging between 3-30 units (SCDC 2008). A report for Cambourne confirms the clustering of affordable housing on two-acre pods containing 20-40 units (CIH 2005). A more recent Spatial Planning Document recommends clusters of no more than six to eight units (SCDC 2010 p. 14) and should be of the same physical appearance as other tenures (SCDC 2010 p. 14). In the next section I examine the ways in which participants talked about their expectations and experiences of different housing tenures, and the impact they perceived these to have on their communities.

9.3.1. Buy-to-Let

There was a clear division among the participants according to the community in which they lived on which type of housing tenure they discussed. Participants expressed concern about levels of buy-to-let (BTL) in Orchard Park and social housing in Cambourne. I shall address these tenure types in turn. For the BTL properties there was concern among participants about a high turnover of tenants and the impact of this on their ability and/or willingness to invest in creating community. There was concern that the impact of high turnover would hinder developing networks and relationships with neighbours. This was a view shared also by one of the community workers I spoke to;

> Buy to let has a massive impact on communities. Landlords buying as investments rather than people buying as homes. Communities aren't built in the same way; people don't make friends anymore because they aren't secure in their tenancy; if people are buying or renting for long-term they put down roots. People need time to settle into communities. How do you put down roots if you're not secure in your tenancy? (Belinda)

This is a view which is echoed in the research. Kearns *et al* (2013) noted concerns from social renters and owners in mixed tenure communities about private renters. Their concerns related to a perceived lack of care and investment in the community, lack of contribution to the community and difficulties in getting to know private rent residents (Kearns *et al* 2013 p. 406). One participant who lived in a block of eight flats where five of those were BTL, occupied by people who "rent for the working week then go home at weekends" suggested a lack of interaction and socialising from the occupants (Carly). This participant was herself a private renter in Orchard Park who reported participating in no activities in this community and who stayed for only six months before moving to Cambourne. A community worker echoed similar views about the impact of short-term renters on work contracts who "go to work and come home and stay in their homes." (Ruth).

Indeed, the majority of participants in this research reported not participating in community events and activities, or 'community life' regardless of their tenure. This raises questions about what it means to 'contribute' or 'invest' in community, how community members perceive and relate their own experiences to those of others, and how they perceive their own behaviour and status as a member of the community what it means to belong to a community. These questions can be related to different ideas of place-making and will be explored in more detail in the following analysis chapter of Pioneers and Followers. It may be that the participants who reported no participation in community life could not fully claim their place, and

so could not fully belong (Benson and Jackson 2012). The theme of participants' ideas of contributing to creating community and ideas of belonging will be examined in the next chapter of analysis.

Paccoud, discusses BTL as a form of gentrification and warns of the potential for displacement as BTL investors continually seek to rent to more and more affluent tenants (Paccoud 2017 p. 844). Citing figures from the Private Landlords Survey (DCLG 2010) Paccoud notes that 44% of tenants had been in their properties less than two years and 48% of landlords expected to re-let their property at a higher rent once vacant, all made possible by deregulation of the private rental sector (Paccoud 2017 p. 844). Such practices have implications for achieving mixed tenure and income communities, which have long been seen as largely beneficial, although the effects of mixed tenure and income neighbourhoods are complex (ODPM 2003; Bailey *et al* 2006; TCPA 2007; Kearns *et al* 2013). Some argue there is a lack of evidence for this. Lees and others challenge this view and argue that geographical proximity does not guarantee a reduction in social distance (Kearns *et al* 2013; Lees 2008).

Bailey *et al* (2006) say that achieving a mix of tenure and income is an important part of housing policy and should achieve appropriate housing provision for all sections of society. Research has long suggested that when developing mixed tenure housing, tenures should be pepper-potted and be indistinguishable from other tenure types (Bailey *et al* 2006, TCPA 2007). That is, dispersed throughout the development in small clusters or single units, not in large blocks, as perceived by the participants below.

9.3.2. Social Housing

There was a perception of large quantities of social rented housing in Cambourne among several participants and one participant in particular who referred to it as a "ghetto";

> I grew up in a council house so I'm not a snob, by any stretch of the imagination, but yeh I mean ghettoising houses like they have in Upper, where there's like 30 or 40 in a block and every house looks identical and very, very different to the rest of Cambourne doesn't help (Craig)

The view that social housing was easily distinguishable from the rest was fairly common "you can tell by the front doors" (Theresa) or the unkempt gardens "they don't cut their grass" (Dave). The participant, Dave, praised the existence of social housing for those who "end up there through no fault of their own" and without which

he said he would have been “living in a tent” after a relationship breakdown. This participant associates social housing with crises and no choice. People do not choose social housing, they “end up there”. This was a view that was shared by a community worker participant, who herself lives in social housing, who blamed housing allocation policies and perpetuated the idea that social housing is for people who have “problems”;

> Social housing often gets a bad rap. Part of the reason is that they don’t care enough about where they place people in social housing, for example flats that used to be for older people, so older people shared with other older people now has changed so now they are single people’s homes […] and a person moves in who has had drink, drug, problems, mental health issues […] even with choice-based lettings, there’s no support given to them on how to live in these. (Ruth)

One participant was concerned about the impact of too much social housing, fearing that Cambourne would end up as an “estate and the stigma that comes with that” (Simon). Another participant spoke of being “overrun” with social housing and the impact of that;

> My big concern is where Cambourne is going to be in 5-10 year’s time. Are we going to be overrun with social housing, housing association and that’s gonna drag down the attractiveness of Cambourne to people looking in from the outside. (Shaun)

These views of social housing were particular to participants in Cambourne. Some divisions between market housing and social housing residents were commented on in a report on Cambourne in 2005, around perceptions of unequal access to facilities (CIH 2005). The views about social housing from the participants then may be a reflection of past animosity. Reference to social housing as a “ghetto” speaks to the residualisation of social housing and the perception that it is reserved only for the most needy in society (Burrows, 1999; Pearce and Vine 2014; Tunstall and Pleace 2018). Indeed, the participants speaking above weren’t only pointing out differences between their owner-occupied housing and the social housing’s design and environment, but also the differences in their behaviour, ideas of cleanliness and morals, and the occupants of the social housing. Such views reinvoke old moral underclass discourses at the centre of which are the representations of the deserving and undeserving poor (Levitas 2005). The participants above are disaffiliating themselves from the social housing ‘others’ and the area which they inhabit, stigmatising people and place (Goffman 1963; Wacquant 2008). The participants can symbolically distance themselves whilst inhabiting the same

physical space (Watt 2006). The ways in which participants discussed social housing may reflect a different attitude towards housing altogether where the middle classes see housing as a marker of lifestyle while the working classes see housing as the place they lived (Allen and Crookes 2009).

9.3.3. Getting the right mix

In relation to housing, the Sustainable Communities Plan aims to provide sufficient range, diversity, affordability and accessibility of housing within a balanced housing market (ODPM 2005 p. 58). The perceptions of the participants suggest this has not been the case. While there is much research to suggest there are benefits of mixed tenure developments, Kearnes *et al* (2013) suggest benefits which may be derived from such developments are dependent on social interactions between different income and tenure groups. Spatial layouts which segregate tenure, such as the block described by the participant above, can discourage such interactions.

Allen *et al* (2005 in Kearns *et al* 2013 p.399) found that having comparable the design of rented and owned houses emphasised similarities and encouraged positive perceptions across tenures. In other words as well as pepper-potting, properties should be tenure blind. Furthermore, Kearns *et al* point to the importance of the mode of production of mixed tenure and the configuration, suggesting that mixed tenure, which is masterplanned and integrated, with community involvement, rather than incremental and segregated, lends to more positive perceptions of mixed tenure. The masterplan process and community involvement may have enabled a better fit between developer intentions and resident expectations (Kearns *et al* 2013 pp. 405-406). Although both communities in this research were masterplanned, the participants did not perceive the tenures as integrated (and non-distinct) which could account for the difference in results for the participants in this research to that of Kearns *et al*. Kearns *et al* also suggested that cross-tenure social interactions improved perceptions of mixed tenure developments, although only slightly. None of the participants reported interacting with those from a different tenure unless this was from pre-existing relationships or in a councillor role.

These findings from Kearns *et al* suggest that spatial design, the location of social spaces and other services can contribute to providing opportunities for increased social interaction between different tenure groups, which can in turn improve

perceptions of mixed tenure developments. In the context of this research then, such strategies have the potential to improve the perceptions of different housing tenure among these participants. Research from the CIH on perceptions of social housing found, sometimes, vast disparities between people's perceptions and realities of social housing (CIH 2018). This suggests that opportunities to challenge perceptions with reality or lived experience through more opportunities for interactions has the potential to improve perceptions of mixed tenure developments and perceive their communities as successful. Opportunities for social interaction are further discussed in the next section in relation to participants' discussion of community centres.

9.4. Social Space and Interaction

Common across the subthemes discussed above is the importance of social interactions between groups of different tenures and of different classes in order to create successful communities. However, the analysis above and elsewhere in the analysis chapters suggest that the participants in this research do not interact with those outside of their own housing tenure, leisure activities, shopping or community activities. Previous research on social interaction, in the context of achieving cohesive communities, suggests that "the most lasting social solidarity is generated by meaningful interaction between people over a period of time." with appeals to "identities that cross barriers – parents, patients, library users, sports fans." (Johnson 2008 p.7). Similarly, Deas and Doyle (2013) note the importance of community facilities for enabling resident interaction and the cultivation of community-minded behaviour (2013 p. 372). The Sustainable Communities Plan does not specify provision of community centres per se, rather it calls for "opportunities for cultural, leisure, community, sport and other activities…" and a "good range of community services" (ODPM 2005 pp. 56-60).

Several participants spoke of their expectations for a community centre when discussing their aspirational communities, "we need a community centre to support all the groups and the needs of the community" (Kathy). For many though, the community centre was not a facility they perceived as essential for their own use. Both Orchard Park and Cambourne have community centres and facilities, but none of the participants reported using them. Participants did not offer explanations for why they did not use their community centres. One explanation for my participants non-use could relate to expectations about the purpose of a community centre and

whose needs they serve. For example, one participant expressed clear expectations about which groups would use a community centre and the needs she expected it to meet;

> […] like disability groups, children, older people, and it needs to be close. […] It seems like a small thing but it's actually a really big thing especially for families with acute stress. Places where parents can start support groups. (Kathy)

No other participants articulated views on what they thought community centres are for or who community centre users would be, if not themselves. It could be that the above quote from one participant is indicative of a wider held perception that community centres are for those perceived of as *in need*, rather than the community at large, similar to the residualisation of social housing which sees it as only for the most needy in society (Burrows 1999; Pearce and Vine 2014; Tunstall and Pleace 2018). My participants had expectations that a community centre would and should be provided in their aspirational communities. That my participants did not make use of the community centres could suggest that they perceived the provision of such things as intended to meet the expectations and needs of others. While my participants placed importance on the provision of community centres in their aspirational communities, this did not align with their lived experience or the routine activities of their daily lives, as indicated by their non-use of the community centres/facilities which do exist in their communities. This suggests that the community centres were not perceived as meeting the needs of the participants in this research, but they nevertheless saw the community centre as an essential feature of a successful community.

My participants' expectations of a community centre then were related to the provision of it, not their use of it. This suggests that when forming expectations about successful communities, participants are not only forming expectations for themselves and how these will be met, but also about the nature of expectations of others in their community and how they will be met. In other words, they are forming their own expectations about their own aspirational communities and also about what they perceive others' expectations to be. They are imagining who their fellow community members are and imagining what their successful community looks like.

The role of the community centre in creating successful communities appears to be an area that is under researched. One such study investigates the ways in which "community is produced, understood and valued through an interrogation of the

community centre as a contested site" (Thornham and Parry 2015 p. 25). A central question in their research related to the use of, and experience within, the community centres by their users, to identify tensions, contradiction or alignments as a terrain on which 'community' is built. Thornham and Parry assert that the symbolism of the building, the spatial divisions and activities produced the material conditions in which 'community' is allowed to exist. They noted that newer centres or repurposed ones encouraged individualised and temporally specific engagements through the use of singular space, technologically enhanced activities, which work to construct users as individual consumers. Users, in remade or repurposed centres with single, multipurpose rooms who "dipped in and out" of activities with little reciprocity, had a singular individual relationship with the building and saw themselves as discerning customers (2015 p. 31). The users are consumers of community (Bauman 2001). User groups in a centre which had not been repurposed or remade described their activities not as consumers but in relation to 'community' whilst recounting processes of learning, interaction, engagement and reciprocity, what Thornham and Parry cite Gilchrist (2011) as identifying as traditional supportive elements of community development (2015 p. 34). The key criticisms from Thornham and Parry on repurposed or remade centres are that spaces are designed problematically to encourage individualised and temporally specific engagements for individual consumers, rather than creating environments for social and collective activities and spaces (2015 p. 35). For Thornham and Parry this matters because these activities undermine social interaction on which community, seen as sustained relationships which evolve over time through space and place rather than consciously constructed at the outset, might be built (2015 p. 36). These contradictions between the symbolism of the community centre as emblematic of civic duty, social interaction and collective action, and operational practice that values individualism, are particularly problematic given the re-appropriation of the term 'community' in political discourse and implied shift of responsibility.

Research by Medved examines the roles and characteristics of the community centre in the context of European sustainable neighbourhoods (Medved 2017). Medved counters the above problematising of the community centre and develops an ideal type of neighbourhood-based community centre in which it is a fundamental reference point for the local community and meets the community's varied everyday needs (Medved 2017 p. 164).

Medved recommends placing the neighbourhood community centre (NCC) at the centre of the neighbourhood, close to other amenities so it acts as an architectural anchor and at the convergence of multiple transport points- the point of maximum connectedness. The centre should be multi-purpose, open as much as possible and accessible to act as;

> single destination for all their basic requirements (civic institutions, cinema, leisure activities, shops, school, library, health facilities, employment centres, theatre, commercial activities etc.). Concentrations of civic, institutional and commercial activity should be embedded in NCCs and not isolated in remote, single-use complexes. (2017 p. 153)

Realising this aspirational ideal would, Medved asserts, achieve a sense of destination and place (2017 p. 153). Such an aspirational ideal described above by Medved aligns closely with my participants' expressions of their expectations of the high street as a core feature of their imagined community. Medved warns that although the above sets the pre-conditions for the development of community, providing a community centre alone is not a magic wand for achieving a strong community, indeed as Thornham and Parry point out above.

Neither community centre in this research achieves the above. Medved concluded that neighbourhood community centres were more likely to be successful in serving the communities' needs, including as a place for social interaction and engendering belonging, if community members themselves have participated in the design, shaping and management of the centres (2017 p. 164). Kang and Korthals-Altes argue that prioritising and early delivery of community amenities, such as a community centre, benefits community members as a space for interaction and to act as communication channels with developers and other place-making professionals (2015 p. 241). Among my participants, it was only those in a parish councillor or community worker role who spoke of involvement in the design or management of their community centres and highlighted great difficulties in achieving Medved's aspiration of community involvement mentioned above. It would appear that community participation in the design, shaping or management of community centres is not an expectation that my participants hold. The role of community centres in creating successful communities would be a fruitful area of future research in the context of new community building across Cambridgeshire and the provision of multi-storey, multi-use centres (for example see Clay Farm Centre, Trumpington; and Northstowe.com).

9.5. Roles of Local Authorities, Developers and Parish Councils

In this section the ways in which participants expressed expectations about the role of different actors they referred to in the creation of their communities are examined. The Sustainable Communities Plan requires that successful communities have strong, informed and effective partnerships, comprising government, business and community, that that lead by example, with accountable governance systems and inclusive, active and effective community engagement (ODPM 2005 p. 57). These aims did not appear to have been achieved according to the perceptions of my participants.

Participants expressed expectations as they related to the roles of different actors involved in the creation and development of the communities, such as the community members themselves, the developers and local councillors and planning officers. In other words, the participants expressed expectations about *who would* and *who should* make things happen and therefore where blame should be apportioned when their expectations were not met. Apportioning blame is affected by the type of information provided, by whom and the perceived credibility of the organisation (James 2016, 2014; James and Van Ryzin 2017). Johnstone *et al* (2013) see a key role for parish councillors in communicating with community members, managing their expectations and ensuring the interests of the community are served. Certainly, the parish and community councillors interviewed in this research believed they fulfilled such a role and highlighted the importance of establishing a parish council early on in a development;

> …set up the parish council at an earlier date because it acts as a link between developers, the district, the residents; it becomes a conduit for information. (Mike-Cambourne PC)

My participants did not appear to view the parish and community councillors as playing a key role in the development of their communities as the council and councillors were mentioned very infrequently, if at all. The lack of mention of the parish councils by the majority of participants across both sites suggests a lack of visibility. This seems rather counterintuitive given that parish and community councils are the first tier of local government and “have the opportunity to be deeply connected and responsive to their communities” (Willet and Cruxon 2019 p. 312). Indeed, it would be difficult to act as a link between the different groups mentioned in the above interview extract or as a “conduit of information” if there is a lack of

visibility of the organisation in the first place or to "manage expectations" as suggested by Johnstone *et al* (2013). One of the parish councils was mentioned by just one participant, who saw them as overburdened and operating outside their role,

> the parish council has a lot on its plate […] they take on a lot of stuff that should probably be at district level (Craig).

In contrast, the parish councillor participants described their expectations of their role as being "forward thinking", "proactive" and not afraid to "get our hands dirty and do things" (Parish Councillors). There are differences here between these participants' expectations for the parish council. The parish councillors perceived the expectations of their role to include "get[ting] their hands dirty", whilst the participant perceived the same expectations of the parish council role as taking on too much. In addition, the reference to normative expectations at the "district level" suggests that it is the district level authority who is expected to create communities given their responsibility for housing, leisure and planning among others. A parish council may be perceived as more marginal in the creating of communities despite being involved in neighbourhood planning or expected to have limited duties (Willet and Cruxon 2019 p. 316). Bailey *et al* (2006) suggest that in order for communities to be successful those involved, such as parish councils and developers, need a common understanding of their collective roles (p. 68). The two extracts above suggest there is not a common understanding of their roles in this context. The parish council are doing the unexpected by taking on activities that are perceived to be the responsibility of the district council. The parish councillor participants further did the unexpected in their approach to working with the developers and not fighting the inevitability of development;

> we said, 'if it's going to happen we want this, this and this' and 'you've got to provide this' and we've got the best out of it; *we got the best assets*. *We got what we wanted* instead of what we were told we wanted and that's worked very well (Parish Councillors) (my emphasis)

Here, the parish council are forming their expectations based on their expectations of how they think developers expect a parish council to operate. Such expectations can be based on previous experience and may exist alongside experience-based norms (Cadotte *et al* 1987). There also appears to be anchoring at work here, where prior expectations act as a baseline when forming expectations and making judgements of satisfaction (James 2009). Their expectation is that development is "inevitable", a predictive expectation (what *will* happen). They perceive their response to the inevitability of development as unexpected because they got what

they wanted instead of what they were told. They are not waiting passively for their expectations to be met, but are actively demanding their expectations are met. In doing so, these parish council participants may have changed how the developers perceive them and may have changed the expectations of the role the parish council in creating successful communities. The way these councillors speak of their role could be seen as developing the strong, informed and effective partnerships that lead by example specified in the Sustainable Communities Plan (ODPM 2005 p. 57). This has implications for future developments if the role expectations are perceived differently there is potential for what were predictive expectations to shift to normative expectations. In other words, that parish councillors or other community members decide what should happen instead of passively awaiting what will (inevitably) happen. They are exercising agency and community as possibility (Shaw 2007).

There was variation of the normative expectations among participants with regards to the role of developers. For example, participants questioned the extent to which developers should be responsible for the provision of social and not-for-profit amenities as is currently practiced through Section 106 agreements, or should stop at the provision of private/commercial/ for-profit entities/activities as a commercial entity. Deas and Doyle note a growing tendency of developers to have a narrow focus on housebuilding alone, without investment in community facilities because of the impact of austerity (2013 p. 375). There were a few participants who were aware the provision of social goods through the Section 106 agreements and the limitations. One in particular expressed "sympathy" for developers and the expectation to provide social goods;

> Unless we move to communism and build houses by the state, you're gonna rely on private sector house builders. If it's not worth their while, then why would they do it? It's not like a social benefit company, is it? (Craig)

This participant equated state provision of housing as "communism" and his normative expectations of housing provision are that it should be provided through private, not public, endeavour. This may reflect a view that he sees housing as a commodity rather than a human right and as a commodity, should be provided through private/commercial means rather than through local authorities or public service organisations. Citing Forrest and Hirayama (2015), Somerville explains that housing has changed from a 'social project' to one of a source of income and magnet for investment (2016 pp. 200-201). This process suggests there has been a normalising of private investment in infrastructure projects and a rolling back of the state from public government investments (Rhodes 1997; Pollitt in Berg *et al* 2002;

Gilchrist and Taylor 2016 p. 158) in the eyes of the public or those who see themselves as consumers of housing, rather than dwellers. Allen states that the middle classes have a different attitude to housing where they see it as a marker of lifestyle (Allen 2008). In this way it could be suggested that the participant above does not see another possibility for community (Shaw 2007).

Participants in general did not express normative expectations about who should provide social goods, although some expressed expectations about the role of the parish council in enforcing provision through S106 where arrangements had been previously agreed. For example, one participant believed stronger enforcement was needed to have greater control over developers;

> saying they can only offer non-profit making facilities at the end of a development, and to increasingly water down their proposals as the development progresses. (Brian).

This points to a contradiction between normative and predictive expectations, in that where participants believe developers should provide agreed social goods, in reality they will not provide these. There is then an ongoing perception that developers will consistently frustrate expectations, based on prior expectations disconfirmation. Such views could be influenced by the perceived credibility and reputation of the organisation which affects how information is perceived and can diminish trust in institutions (James and Van Ryzin 2017). There may also be James' (2009) anchoring at work here, where participants' performance judgements are anchored around a pre-existing baseline and in this case, levels of trust may already be low. Indeed, as Sturzacker asserts "It is widely recognised that the public do not trust politicians, developers or even experts" (Bell et al., 2005, p. 470 in Sturzacker 2011 p. 559). The view above suggests there is, at least, a perception of a lack of an accountable governance system (ODPM 2005). Kang and Korthals-Altes assert that accountability does not stem naturally from the planning system. If accountability in development is to be improved and effective, it must be established at the outset of planning and implemented at the various stages of the planning process through formal and informal mechanisms (Kang and Korthals-Altes 2015).

There was a perception from some that there was a lack of consultation and that when there was provision of information, it was not in a format seen as genuinely accessible to all;

> it's not quite transparent. Nothing's changed in 20 years- still an orange sign on a lamppost- who looks at lampposts anymore?! (Simon)

The view from this participant suggests that there is a lack of effective and inclusive participation or involvement of local residents in shaping policy and practice, core features of sustainable communities (ODPM 2005 pp. 57-59) and markers of a successful community as conceived of in policy. Parker and Murray assert that face-to-face and direct contact is more effective in building trust in institutions and to better manage expectations, leading to greater satisfaction with their communities (2012 pp. 16-17). My participants reported very little face-to-face contact with the councils or the developers which could have contributed to their lack of visibility, different expectations with regards to their roles and the perception of the developers in particular, being out of touch.

The developers were perceived as disconnected and out of touch from the communities they were tasked with creating, leading to a lack of alignment between policy aspiration, the community's lived experience and their expectations. Some participants thought the developers simply did not know how to create new communities because these did not align with the lived experience of developers themselves;

> developers live in leafy suburbs and have never bought a property in their new development, that's why they don't how to do new places. Developers are selling their vision of 'community' and they don't really know the reality because they don't live in a building site. (Veronica)

This extract offers different visions of community, none of which align and suggests that the "leafy suburb" and new developments are mutually exclusive and in stark contrast to each other. The question posed by Harvey of 'in whose image is the city made' resurfaces here in these participants' comments (in Allen and Crookes 2009 p. 468).

> Developers are not thinking about developments as a resident- if it were me living here, what would I want- this is what they need to be asking themselves. (Kathy)

This participant is expressing normative expectations about what developers should do when imagining a successful community. This participant expects the developers to imagine a community in which they could see themselves. This extract also suggests that participants perceive that developers see themselves as different to those for whom they are creating communities. The developers were seen as out of touch but in control.

One participant thought the key to better developments, or successful communities, was an endeavour that should be "a joint responsibility between the residents, local

council, South Cambs (South Cambridgeshire District Council) and the developers" (Simon). Certainly, that is the view of the Sustainable Communities Plan which require strong, informed and effective partnerships between government, business and community for successful communities (ODPM 2005 p. 57). Some participants thought the councils (all levels) were not particularly interested in the development of the community and were ineffectual at reining in the developers and one in particular thought the county council got a "kickback" from the developers. Given that the district council's headquarters is located in Cambourne, South Cambridge District Council was mentioned very infrequently. This could suggest there is a lack of visibility of the authority and/or a lack of engagement with its closest geographically located residents confirming one participant's perception that they "don't give a toss".

According to Johnstone *et al* (2013), local councillors have the opportunity to influence new developments by identifying potential positive impacts on communities and negotiating positive social outcomes. The councillors in this research saw themselves as successful in their negotiations, as described in the previous interview extract, "we got what we wanted". What is unclear is whether the community members realise that the councillors have been successful in this endeavour. Given the lack of mention by participants of the parish councillors and their perceptions that it was the developers who frustrated their expectations, could suggest that the parish council needs more visibility and better channels of communication, not just a "sign on a lamppost" as described above. Greater visibility of their achievements for participants could open up channels of communication, increase community involvement and lead to greater levels of satisfaction with their community and see it as successful. As suggested by James (2016) provision of information about achievements of an organisation has the potential to improve levels of satisfaction but should come from a source seen as simultaneously connected and independent. Such a role could be fulfilled by a dedicated community worker or a 'credible intermediary' who maintains a degree of neutrality by not being too closely aligned with any of the social actors involved (Franklin 2013 cited in Franklin and Marsden 2015 p.14). Alternatively, Johnstone *et al* (2013) suggest establishing a parish council earlier in the development to communicate important changes and progress so that communities feel their voices have been heard. Whilst it is too late to act on the recommendation of the timing of establishing a parish council in this research, changes can be made to the ways in which the parish council communicate with and involve community members.

Implementing the early establishment of a parish council or the provision of a dedicated community worker has the potential to improve perceptions of the different groups of actors involved among the community members, manage expectations and better ensure satisfaction with their community.

9.6. Conclusion

Expectations that a successful community should contain something akin to the idea of the traditional high street seems to be an enduring one, with participants in this research still envisioning that as an essential feature of their aspirational ideal community. However, research suggests that the nature of the contemporary high street has changed significantly since the crash of 2008 (Carmona 2015) and is less relevant in contemporary Britain. The Sustainable Communities Plan aimed to achieve economically viable and attractive town centres with a good range of affordable public, community, voluntary and private services, such as retail, fresh food, commercial, utilities, information and advice, which are accessible to the whole community (ODPM 2005 pp. 57-59). It could be argued that this has been achieved as both communities in this research have a centre, with viable businesses, affording the community members access to retail, commercial, information and advice. However, the community members perceived the provision of these very differently and highlighted gaps in provision. The community members' expectations about what their community should look like did not correspond with what the communities would look like. That the participants' normative and predictive expectations about their ideal aspirational community differed, suggests that strategies are needed to better align these. Such strategies could include those suggested by James (2011a, 2011b, 2016) through the provision of information to manage expectations, however careful consideration needs to be given to the format of the information and from whom the information originates. The information provider needs to be perceived as credible and in the first instance needs to be visible to the recipient. Such strategies could be implemented by a dedicated community worker, a strategy identified in the literature and confirmed by the current research. This could help bridge the gap between the policy aspiration and the lived experience of my participants.

The Sustainable Communities Plan aims to provide a sufficient range, diversity, affordability and accessibility of housing to achieve successful communities (ODPM

2005 p. 59). Both developments in my research achieve mixed tenure, but in this regard they are not seen as successful by my participants. The participants perceived that the tenure mix, specifically perceptions about too much social housing and BTL properties, had a negative impact on the success of their communities. The BTL properties were perceived to undermine the development of social networks through a high turnover of tenants and a lack of interaction from them. The perceptions of social housing related to stigma, moral underclass discourses and the lack of pepper-potting and tenure blindness applied in its design and spatial layout. Such perceptions led to practices of disaffiliation among my participants and a lack of social interactions between those of different tenures. Given the lack of participants from social housing tenures, the impact of the practices of disaffiliation as described in the literature could not be verified by my findings (Paton 2010; Jefferey 2018).

There appears to be a lack of visibility of the partners involved in creating communities for my participants and therefore of opportunities to participate in the shaping of policy and practice here. There appeared to be starkly different perceptions of the effectiveness of those involved. Parish councillors perceived themselves to be very effective in their roles, yet were hardly mentioned by the majority of participants. This therefore suggests that there is not a lack of partnership working and effective leadership per se, rather there is a lack of awareness of it. The Sustainable Communities Plan clearly states the need for effective and inclusive partnership working and leadership, but seems to take a limited approach in how to achieve this, mainly through the structure of parish councils (ODPM 2005 p. 22). Such an approach is in stark contrast to the literature which argues for much wider participatory opportunities which extend beyond the usual "'delegated' governance structures", opportunities which could be facilitated by community development workers (Connor 2011 p. 107; Jupp 2008). Having a community worker in such a role could help fulfil the criteria from the Sustainable Communities Plan which requires strong, informed and effective partnerships which appears to be lacking for my participants (ODPM 2005 p. 57). This could help bridge the gap between the policy aspiration and the lived experience of the community members.

10. Findings and Analysis Theme 3: Pioneers and Followers

> There has been "insufficient attention paid to how 'communities' are made, defended and negotiated *by residents*" according to Wallace (2010) (emphasis added).

This theme was developed from the data because of the ways in which participants talked about how their participation in different activities at various stages of their arrival to their place which helped to create and maintain their community. Participants often related their discussions participation to their feelings of belonging and attachment, but they did not necessarily equate their participation with feelings of belonging and attachment. Participants made connections between timing of arrival, participation and feelings of attachment and belonging, both for themselves and how they perceived others. The subheadings in this section present the elements of these connections. The penultimate heading, *K1Housing*, is based on interviews with two participants who are to be members of a cohousing group to be built within the existing footprint of Orchard Park but which will be separate to it. Theirs is an intentional community which has criteria for membership, unlike Orchard Park and Cambourne. Their views on how they perceive a successful community offer a different perspective from the other participants in my study, in that they are discussing how they *will* achieve their successful community, as opposed to discussing retrospectively what they *have* done, as with the other participants. Theirs is an aspiration yet to be realised.

This theme is about how participants spoke about themselves in relation to their community as opposed to facilities, housing or the reputation of their communities as in the previous data analysis chapter. It relates to the ways in which the participants saw themselves, and others, contributing to the creation and maintenance of their communities through their actions and attitude. The creation and maintenance of their communities is how the participants engage in place-making. This analytical theme is about how my participants 'make' their community. The participants used terms such as 'pioneer', 'attachment' and 'belonging' to describe their relationship with their community, characterised by the way they participated in activities which they perceived as contributing to the creation and maintenance of their community. Notions of belonging, attachment and participation

are enduring themes in the community literature and features of place-making. Having a sense of belonging and opportunities for participating in shared community activities is seen as essential in creating successful communities in the Sustainable Communities Plan (ODPM 2005). The ways in which the participants spoke about how they belong to their community and participate in its creation and maintenance both fit with traditional ways of belonging and challenged them. For example, some participants were involved in established methods of participation, such as parish councillor roles, while others sought belonging through participation in social media groups, using social media as a vehicle to 'make' community and engender belonging.

The term pioneer is linked to patterns of migration, trade and colonisation, both historical and contemporary (see Bakewell 2012). A pioneer can be thought of as someone who is among the first to explore or settle a new area. A pioneer then, is one who paves the way for others to follow, implying an endurance of sacrifice and hardship along the way, easing the path for followers. A pioneer can also refer to innovation, in the sense of creating something new. This second way of thinking can be related to the marketing literature which sees the pioneer as the first entrant into a new market. Being the first entrant into a new market has long been seen as being advantageous, particularly with securing larger market shares for long lived success (Golder and Tellis 1993; Robinson and Fornell 1985). Being a pioneer can establish a foothold and set the standards which successors follow. It can be said that pioneers make a lasting impact. Followers can be said to be at an advantage over the pioneers in that followers do not have to expend the same amount of effort and energy to enjoy the same benefits. Followers get the same for less but may be viewed as "free riders" by pioneers (Lenway and Rehbein 1991). Followers may not be free riding but may be responding to a lack of opportunities to participate. Marketing literature argues that followers may need to "shout louder" to be heard (Rettie *et al* 2002 p. 896). In this context, followers may need to work harder to find or create opportunities to innovate and participate in the creation and maintenance of their community.

10.1. Pioneers, Early Arrivals and Followers – timing of arrival

Many participants were among the first to arrive in the research site locations, where only a few houses had yet been completed, there were no or few facilities, construction was ongoing and the aspirations of the masterplans were far off

becoming a lived reality. Although the masterplan would determine the use of space and the details of the built environment, the early arrival participants saw themselves as creating their community. That the place is already planned (through masterplanning) yet my participants saw themselves as *creating* their community points to different approaches to place-making and differences in their own power of agency.

The masterplan reflects a top-down approach to place-making, where the aspirational community has been imagined, planned and will be implemented by planning professionals. At the opposite end of the place-making spectrum is organic place-making, where activities come from the bottom-up, from the efforts of the community members themselves, as discussed in Chapter 3 (Sofield 2017). The participants who spoke of being pioneers or of seeing themselves as being instrumental in creating their community, did so at length and with excitement, enthusiasm and a sense of achievement. The participant is exercising agency within the constraints of structure. This is what Shaw refers to as "community as possibility" in which community is "an intermediate level of social reality in which people collectively experience both the possibilities of human agency and the constraints of structure" (2007 p. 32). This can also be seen as organic place-making (Lew 2017; Sofield 2017).

> back then there was that real sense of this is something we've created because we were the first ones here [participants paused, looked at each other and simultaneously exclaimed] pioneers! (Wilma and Mike)

The participants above, Wilma and Mike, at the time of the interviews are parish councillors, but had not been upon their arrival at Cambourne. That they later became parish councillors may speak to their motivation in creating something in the early days as ordinary members of the community. In other words, they may have been more likely to participate than other participants who did not become involved in their parish council. In the extract above, Wilma was speaking of her arrival to Cambourne, and when she paused in her account, Mike joined her in the exclamation of "pioneers!". The participant, Wilma, above was referring to informal social events she and other community members organised at each other's houses when there were very few people living in the community in order to get to know each other and "create" community. McCabe and Phillimore refer to these kinds of activities as "home-based civil society" (2017 p. 14). These informal activities contribute to organic place-making through "small, individual gestures and social relationships" (Balassiano and Maldonado 2014 p. 647) and highlight the

significance of the use of private spaces, not just public space, for organic place-making (Sofield 2014). These informal micro-level interactions play an important role in organic place-making and are the way "places are claimed and shaped" (Lew 2017 p. 449). That the above participants sought to create community through building of social relationships speaks to the embeddedness of the social and the spatial and to Heideggar's "being-in-the-world" and dwelling (Cresswell 2015 pp. 49-50).

The participants' use of the term 'pioneer' suggests they see themselves as ground-breaking and implies a sense of endurance, sacrifice and hard work – a pioneering spirit. To have a pioneering spirit means a willingness to endure hardship or make sacrifices in order to achieve some goal or accomplishment. A pioneer may bring to mind an idea of those who travel to new and unknown places to discover new lands, experiencing hardships along the way. This reference to pioneers as explorers and settlers has connotations of colonisation, both in ecological terms; a [plant] species colonising uninhabited or barren lands; and in the sense of Hobsbawn's age of empire (Hobsbawn 1994). This latter usage suggests a taking or a claiming of something hitherto yet unclaimed. Benson and Jackson assert that the middle classes are able to 'claim' moral ownership over place through their [relative] symbolic power (2012 pp. 795-797). In this context 'place' is not yet made. They, the pioneers, are claiming moral ownership of 'space' and exercising their relative symbolic power to imbue 'space' with meaning, their meaning to create 'place', their place. Place is imbued with their meaning, their visions of their aspirational community, reducing place-meaning-making opportunities for followers and providing the normative structure for *how* followers are able participate in place-making (Somerville 2016 p. 10).

The participant's reference to time, "back then" places the sense of creating something firmly in the past, not the present and not to be realised again in the future and could only be achieved by the "first ones here". This says something about the extent to which followers can contribute to the creation and maintenance of their community in the minds of the pioneers. The pioneers have 'captured the market share' in terms of opportunities for followers to participate and innovate in the creation of their community. This suggests that in the minds of those who see themselves as pioneers, something (community) was created "back then" and is complete, future opportunities for followers have been closed off. Such a view is in contrast to the nature of place-making which is an ongoing, continuous process; 'place' is dynamic; it is a never-finished project (Benson and Jackson 2012). Places

are always “becoming” (Pred 1984 in Cresswell 2015 p. 65). Such a view also says something about the ways in which pioneers maybe view their vision of ‘community’ that they have “created” as the one which sets the standard for all others to follow *in their footsteps*, like the pioneers in a marketing context or in a migration context where pioneers have the potential to establish systems of migration (see Bakewell *et al* 2012). If followers are to contribute to the ongoing creation and maintenance of their community, there must be space and opportunity to do so and to innovate in response to changing environments as the development progresses. For example, for the participant Wilma, in the early days of the community’s development, small gestures of sociality were appropriate but as the community matured, she transitioned into a more formalised role in the form of a parish councillor.

Similar to the participant quoted above, the following participant was one of the first to arrive and refers to himself as a “settler” again invoking notions of a pioneering spirit and implies membership to a distinct group, settlers, within the community. Unlike the previous participant however, the participant below refers to his participation in building his community as a “duty”;

> I’ve always been *involved* in Cambourne having been one of the first settlers so I felt *duty* bound to help build the community […] I’ve seen it grow from nothing. (Craig)

This participant’s use of the word “duty” suggests an obligation and speaks to ideas about active citizenship, rights and responsibilities which were prevalent features of New Labour’s Third Way, and to Etzioni’s communitarianism agenda (Etzioni 1994). A notion of ‘community’ in which there is a sense of “duty” invokes notions of collective responsibility and chimes with both New Labour’s idea of ‘community’ and the Conservatives’ rather non-starter Big Society agenda (Somerville 2011). Themes of duty, obligation and collective responsibility are enduring ones in the literature on community (see Taylor 2011; Somerville 2011; Day 2006). More recent research from Benson and Jackson also found an enduring “moral responsibility to its maintenance” (2012 p. 804). Such an endurance speaks to the power of community in establishing moral norms. Certainly, it appears to be an important ideal for the above participant in his approach to building his community. That the participant sees it as his duty/responsibility to build community indicates that he does not expect the creation of his community to be provided for him, rather it is a DIY project for “settlers” to embark on. He is giving meaning and shape to “nothing” so that space, as a realm without meaning, is transformed into a place, a community, imbued with meaning (Cresswell 2015). Citing Tuan (1977) Cresswell

asserts that “undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it and endow it with value” (2015 p. 15). The participant above is getting to know the space, which was “nothing”, through his involvement and creating a place, his community. He does not simply wait for community to appear, but actively builds it through his involvement in Cambourne. His community is not one that is ready-made, but one which he watches “grow” organically. Given that he saw it as his duty, as one of the first settlers, to build community, this could imply that he sees it as the duty of his fellow community members to do the same, expressing a sense of reciprocity. The membership of a community as underpinned by ideas of reciprocity and obligation have long been recognised in the community literature so it is no surprise that these are alluded to here (Somerville 2011; Taylor 2011; Day 2006; Hogget 1997). For Wills, reciprocal relationships are the crux of community (2016). These ideas are seen as important in developing the foundations for collective action and civil society (Taylor 2011) and can be an indicator of strong connections among the members of the community (Somerville 2011).

While the above analysis and discussion lends support to the existence of a sense of duty in building their community from some participants, there was a view that the pioneering spirit which they possessed was not one possessed by those who joined the community at later stages- followers- and an assumption the followers would not participate. There was a sense that the efforts of the pioneers would not be reciprocated by people joining their community at a later stage. While pioneers may have advantages in terms of setting standards for others to follow, the followers have the advantage of reaping the benefits of the pioneers’ efforts, without exerting effort of their own. This is an issue identified in the marketing literature as the “free-rider” problem (Golder and Tellis 1993; Yoffie 1987). The free-rider enjoys the benefits of the efforts made of those who have gone before, in this context the pioneers, at no cost or outlay to themselves. For the following participant, the pioneers had negated the need for followers to make an effort because they had done so much already;

> There was a sense of making that effort which I don’t think people moving in now would do because there’s so much already here (Wilma) (talking about followers)

The above extract contains several assumptions about followers and the nature of community building made by the participant, who had described herself as a pioneer. Like Anderson’s imagined communities (1991) in which members do not know each other, but imagine their communion, she is imagining what her fellow

community members will be like. Rather than imagine her fellow community members engaging in an act which is the same and "replicated simultaneously" as Anderson describes, she imagines her fellow community members as being different by *not* replicating the act of "making that effort". She imagines her fellow community members, the followers, to be characterised by difference, not sameness, in that they are not like her because they won't "make the effort". This speaks to those binary oppositions which are so often said to characterise the nature of community in the literature (Somerville 2011) whilst simultaneously supporting the binary of 'us' (people who make the effort) and 'them' (people who don't make the effort) created through symbolic boundary construction (Shaw 2007; Cohen 1985). There is an implicit assumption that because "there's already so much here" that what currently exists aligns with followers' visions of their aspirational community, the follower will simply slot into a ready-made community and there will be no desire to contribute or innovate. Such a view points to a perception that there is an absence of conflict in the process of making community. This is in stark contrast to the literature which sees communities as sites of resistance, struggle and contestation (Hogget 1997) and whose meaning and interpretation is variable and contested (Doering 2014; Cohen 1985). Following on from this, another assumption arising from "there's already so much here" is that this participant sees 'community' as something which can be completed at some point; that there is an end product to be had; which contradicts theoretical views of community as dynamic, provisional, continuously created and recreated (Blackshaw 2010; Day 2006; Bauman 2001; Cohen 1985). This has implications for community building policies which aim to create a space and opportunity for community members to participate in the place-making of their communities. For example, the goal of community building policies is to achieve the aspiration set out in policy, suggesting a final destination to reach, a view which appears to be shared by the participants in my research. Such views and assumptions are at odds with the literature on community and theorising of community indicating a lack of alignment between theory, policy and practice, a gap which Little argues needs to be bridged if successful communities are to be achieved (2002 pp. 7-8). These gaps represent an inherent tension between seeing 'community' as a project (Franklin *et al* 2011 p. 360) and a state of being (Studdert 2016). Yerbury asserts that we must understand the ways in which 'community' is vocabularised in people's lived experiences in order to ensure alignment with contemporary theorising on community (Yerbury 2011).

It was suggested in the previous discussion that followers to the communities in this research would not exert the same effort in contributing to their community nor would they need to because so much had already been done by the pioneers who had gone before them. This chimes with past research by Oliver which divides contributions to collective actions into active and token contributions and sees diminishing returns for early contributions which have the biggest impact, thus leading to free-riding (Oliver 1984 p. 602). The spirit in which the follower as free-rider was viewed by the pioneer participants is encapsulated in the following extract;

> People want everything from the community but they don't want to put anything back in. There's always the assumption that somebody else will do it (Craig- talking about followers)

Craig here, like Wilma above, is imagining his fellow community members, with whom he communes but does not know, as sharing his imagined community but imagines them as different to himself. He is implying in the statement above that he is the "somebody else" who does everything and that they, the followers, will take everything and give nothing. The assumption here is that followers do not contribute to the creation and maintenance of their community not because of a lack of need, rather it is a lack of desire or willingness to contribute on their part. This suggests the participant perceives his fellow community members as lacking the sense of duty and reciprocity discussed above on which his community is built. While the above participant expressed a sense of duty and obligation in contributing to his community, his motivation and that of the other pioneers who expressed a sense of achievement in what they had created, may have been driven by pessimism about others' actions. For example, Oliver (1984) explains that optimism about the action of others is the motivation when there is an accelerating impact of contributions on collective good. However, as contributions produce diminishing returns, motivation for action is driven by pessimism, a belief that others will not contribute. Diminishing returns happen when the early contributions have the biggest impact and the remaining tasks are relatively finite, such as doing the accounts. In this context, the pioneers' early contributions may have been perceived by followers and early arrivals, as having the biggest impact therefore reducing incentive for followers and early arrivals to become involved. Therefore, the pioneers may have been motivated by a concern that if "they don't do it, nobody else will" (Oliver 1984 p. 602).

Similar views are mooted by Balassiano and Maldonado (2014) who found differences in the types of place-making activities in which people would participate. They noted differences between migrant newcomers to an established place and the existing residents there. The migrant newcomers were more likely to engage in informal and more varied place-making activities compared to the established residents who were more likely to engage with formal processes of place-making (Balassiano and Maldonado 2014 p. 653). That is to say, established residents engaged in engineered top-down place-making processes whereas newcomers engaged in organic bottom-up processes of place-making.

The ways in which my pioneer participants expressed their contributions to creating and maintaining their community through place-making processes is broadly supported by Balassiano and Maldonado's research. As newcomers, or pioneers, they engaged in informal place-making activities. As the community grew and developed, they transitioned to engage in more formal processes of place-making, such as joining the parish council. These differences matter because it points to the need for different opportunities at different stages of the community development and to involvement in place-making as an evolving process which needs to adapt to a changing environment. My pioneers were newcomers to a community that had yet to be realised so it may be that those informal place-making opportunities were more prevalent than formal place-making opportunities.

There were other participants whose experiences do not fit with Balassiano and Maldonado's findings. For example, some participants who were early arrivals to the research sites did not express participating in the creation and maintenance of their community through place-making activities despite opportunities to do so, "there's lots going on" (Theresa). For one newcomer who attempted to engage in those "small, individual gestures" of introducing themselves to their neighbours, which comprise informal place-making stopped because "people were taken aback". In stark contrast to the participant above who saw "lots going on", the experience for another participant who was a newcomer but not an early arrival was "we kind of live in our house there but that's about it" and said this was because they didn't "know of much else going on there" (Cleo). Opportunities for participation either did not exist or were not visible to this participant.

These different experiences from my participants suggest that what matters for place-making is not just about timing of arrival, which Balassiano and Maldonado (2014) saw as important, and more about the appropriateness and availability of

place-making opportunities (although they do recognise this). Balassiano and Maldonado (2014) highlight the pressures put on newcomers to engage in place-making during a time in which they are transitioning to a new community. Place-making, they argue, is not the sole responsibility of the newcomer, and as previously claimed by Friedmann, place-making is the job of everyone (Balassiano and Maldonado 2014 p. 647; Friedmann 2010 p. 161). Balassiano and Maldonado see a role for community workers in making place-making more inclusive and therefore everyone's job (2014 p. 657). These personal experiences of place-making, participation and attachment in all their variations are needed in order develop a more holistic understanding of how to create successful communities (Manzo and Perkins 2006). Opportunities for participation in place-making activities need to adapt to the changing environment as new communities develop and grow and to include formal and informal ways to participate. The range of activities in which participants were involved will now be discussed.

10.2. Participation in What? Formal and Informal Activities

Opportunities to participate in place-making may come in the form of formally organised and informal activities. Those formally organised opportunities may include such activities as those identified by the participant below, Benton who is a community councillor. Small community-based groups may range from those involving arts, sports, environmental improvements, local history and self-help and support (McCabe and Phillimore 2017). Such groups and activities have the potential to strengthen social bonds between community members, help build social capital and facilitate attachment to one's community (Putnam 2000; Kasarda and Janowitz 1974). Chanan and Miller see community groups as the "fundamental building blocks" of communities (2013 pp. 53-54) yet my participants made very little mention of their existence. The majority of my participants reported very little or no participation in formal activities which had been organised by community workers or attendance at parish council meetings, with the exception of those participants who were councillors. This suggests that contrary to Chanan and Miller's assertion of their fundamental importance, they mattered very little to my participants' visions of their aspirational communities. A community councillor participant at Orchard Park viewed the organisation of formal activities as crucial in creating "community cohesion" and "good relationships";

> We do a quiz, wine tasting, litter picking, beach trips, fireworks, trips, things to bring community together […] to live as one big family (Benton Community Councillor Orchard Park)

These events, he assured me, were very well attended. None of my participants reported attending any of these events nor did they name any of these events. It could be that my sample of participants were not aware of such events, so the opportunity to participate was not visible to them. It may be that my participants were aware of these events but chose not to attend, so the opportunity to participate was not appropriate for their needs or inaccessible in some way. There was a mixture among my participants on the extent to which they were aware of activities in which they could participate and their choices to do so. The participant from Orchard Park below talked of her frustration finding information two years out of date and not being able to obtain information which would enable her to participate. The participant wants to become involved in community but cannot locate the opportunity to do so;

> I know there's a wildlife area, but I don't know where it is; they do all sorts of work and they want to get the community involved and I *am* the community and quite interested in that sort of thing and I've not really found out. (Jane OP)

It could be that the activities referred to by Jane were irregular, sporadic and/or dependent on numbers who register some kind of interest or turn up on the day. Such a sporadic nature of activities could signal a dependence on volunteers for staffing and running events, instead of dedicated paid workers, which can generate such dilemmas (Gilchrist and Taylor 2011 p.94). Jupp notes the unpredictability of volunteers who move in and out of engagement with groups when trying to balance other life commitments (Jupp 2008 p. 338). Certainly, in the current times of austerity there is an increasing expectation that ever more responsibility for such activities is shifted onto volunteers away from once/previously paid dedicated community workers, as conceptualised in Cameron's Big Society and his neighbourhood army of volunteer community organisers (Cameron 2010). Jupp (2020) and Reynolds (2019) both document the destabilising impact of austerity on the existence and sustainability of community and on the nature of community work. In its early days of development, Orchard Park's community worker was based at a community centre in the adjacent King's Hedges, separated by a main busy road, funded for five years with S106 money (SCDC 2008). The lack of a community centre in Orchard Park in the early days to act as a base for the community worker

could have impacted the development of relationships with community members and contributed to a lack of visibility.

The 'they' referred to above who "want to get the community involved" but haven't involved Jane, could suggest that 'they' do not understand how to engage communities or their methods of engagement do not align with how members of the community wished to be engaged (Gilchrist and Taylor 2011 p.87). Cornwall refers to such activities as organised by community workers as 'invited spaces' and argues that the spaces people create for themselves are of an entirely different character to most invited spaces, with each having different ideas of what participation means and how to obtain it (2008 p. 277). Participation in civil society, whether in local democratic processes or via community groups has long been promoted as a route to developing cohesive and successful communities (Taylor 2011; Eversole 2008; Cornwall 2008). It is therefore crucial that there is "clarity through specificity" (Cohen and Uphoff 1980 in Cornwall 2008 p. 282) if such groups are expected to play a role in developing the social capital, bonds and networks which underpin relational community (McCabe and Phillimore 2017; Williams and Pocock 2010).

One participant from Orchard Park knew of organised activities but did not attend himself because they were not suitable for him;

> If community workers were able to start sociable things then that would be good. I'm not sure how successful they are because the things they organise here are all for families. The things I go to have been organised by enthusiastic residents, and that's something you can't buy, and it's never the same if local government try to recreate it. (Brian OP)

The community worker here, like that in Cambourne, was employed by one of the Housing Associations so it may have been perceived that any activities provided were for housing association tenants not market housing occupiers (SCDC 2005) p.16). The participant, Brian, a single man living in Orchard Park did not find the formally organised activities appropriate for his needs. Opportunities for participation here are still happening in what Eversole refers to as the institutional terrain of development organisations, where communities are expected to participate in ways already determined (Eversole 2010). Chanan and Miller (2013 p. 57) assert that there should be enough groups to give all residents a variety of options for involvement. His perception that the organised activities were "all for families" indicates there are not enough groups to give all residents a variety of options for involvement. In response to a lack of suitable participatory activities then, he and his fellow community members create their own spaces for participation. Community groups often develop in response to a perceived or actual

need which is not currently addressed by other means (McCabe and Phillimore 2017 pp. 83-85).

Another participant at Cambourne, who lives with her partner and has no children, recounted a similar experience to the participant Brian above stating, **"**There's not really anything for us to do as young adults with no children" (Cleo). Cleo did not report being able to locate alternatives to activities and groups which were aimed towards families and children, unlike Brian above. The view that activities were family orientated was a commonly held one from participants in Cambourne who did not have children. Successful communities, as envisioned in policy, are those which can adapt to the changing demands of modern life, have a capacity for growth and provide for all stages of life (ODPM 2003). The experiences of the participants above indicate that place-making for the life stages has not been successful at either research locations, which undermines notions of "sustainable communities" (Williams and Pocock 2010; ODPM 2003).

The participant, Craig located in Cambourne, reported being involved throughout his residence, talked about the type of activities he participated in and the extent of commitment expected, explaining it was easier to dip in and out to do specific smaller tasks rather than being obligated to attend, for example, regular meetings. This contradicts those participation models which suggest linear patterns of participation and which suggest that citizen control is the ultimate aim and instead supports the view that people will participate at the point and for the purpose they choose (Arnstein 1969; Taylor 2011). The dipping in and out referred to by Craig, above, is akin to Jupp's notion of "helping out" whereby participation is a "very informal undertaking, with no particular expectation around who might turn up or for how long on any occasion" (2008 p. 338) the impact of which could be very powerful. This suggests a far more fluid pattern of participation is needed. If there is a perception among community members that creating or maintaining 'community' requires a bigger time commitment or regular/ highly structured participation in more formally organised events/activities, there may be a reluctance to participate at all. Jupp suggests that opportunities for "everyday sociability" are needed and spaces for participation in which people "feel comfortable" for more inclusive participatory activities (2008 pp. 336-337). The variation in participation among my participants points to the importance of "third places", which are "a public setting accessible to its inhabitants and appropriated by them as their own" (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982 p. 270). These third places exist for "pure sociability" and can facilitate the kind of interactions which build community. These third places

can exist in the form of coffee shops, bars and cafes or in the virtual environment in the form of social media sites such as Facebook and online forums.

An alternative to formal modes of participation expressed by a small number of participants was that of their involvement in community-based Facebook groups and online forums. One participant claimed that "Facebook is the way to meet people now" and was discouraged in her own informal place-making attempts in real life because "people seem quite surprised if you speak to them, say hello" [in real life] (Jane).

Both research sites have Facebook groups, bringing together the virtual and 'in-real-life' communities and enabling place-making to occur online. Both research sites have Facebook pages which have been set-up by their respective councils and which exist alongside 'unofficial' ones established by community members themselves. The Orchard Park Facebook group was set up specifically to "find ways to help build and foster our community." (Inside Orchard Park). The Inside Orchard Park group acts as a vehicle for members to connect with each other, obtain information about their community, raise concerns and work collectively to address these. An Orchard Park participant saw complaining on the Inside Orchard Park group as a reflection of what a "great place" it is;

> The fact that we use the page to moan about the bad things is a really good sign of what a great place this is to live, […] It shows that the number of bad things isn't too high, that we're not used to it, and that we don't accept them as a sign of what life here is like. And I love living here. (Brian)

The above extract from Brian indicates that there is an active online community of Orchard Park and there is mutual support to be had from membership of it. His statement of "we don't accept them" is suggestive of the possibility of community organising in response to shared concerns. The participant is exercising agency by changing the narrative from marking his community as "bad" to a "great place". He is putting his own meaning onto his place and realising the possibility of community as he and others envision it rather than a vision that is imposed from the outside (Shaw 2007). The way in which the above participant talks about the way he and others use the Facebook group contributes to the creation of the community's identity and its defence. Breek and Hermes argue that people can be encouraged by the feelings of group solidarity in such digital interactions which can lead to an enhanced place attachment and the seeking out of face-to-face interactions as a result (2018 p. 922). Johnson and Halegoua (2015) cite a growing amount of

research to suggest that interactions on social media, such as that above, are encouraging online connections becoming offline interactions in place-based communities. They warn however, that social media will not automatically create social networks where none previously existed or if social ties are already depleted (Johnson and Halegoua 2015 p. 264).

One participant who is a community councillor at Orchard Park uses the Inside Orchard Park in his role as councillor to respond to concerns raised. In this way the Facebook group contributes to local democracy and can widen opportunities for participation, supplementing the face-to-face interactions (Gilchrsit and Taylor 2011; Willet and Cruxton 2019). This has the potential to address concerns around the participation of the 'usual suspects' in community affairs (Taylor 2011 p. 152; Parker and Murray 2012). The participation of the 'usual suspects' was an issue identified by a parish councillor participant at Cambourne who reported that "you often see the same set of people volunteering." (Mike). This suggests that new ways of participating are needed which reach beyond a narrow group of people (Dillon and Fanning 2013). McCabe and Phillimore cite Standage (2013) on the "transformational power" of social media to democratise information flows and facilitate mobilisation, although it does not guarantee a specific outcome (2017 pp.285-286).

The setting up of their own groups and activities could be a response to a perceived lack of partnership working by authorities with community members, a problem highlighted in place-making literature (Parker and Murray 2012) or that activities which are engineered by organisations such as parish councils lack alignment with the community's needs compared to organic activities and groups which grow from the community members themselves. Self-organising by community members themselves, whether creating their own community groups in real life or online as with the Facebook groups above, is often done in response to a perceived or actual lack of provision (McCabe and Phillimore 2017 pp. 83-85). The Facebook groups discussed by participants can act as Oldenburg's "third place" whereby the Facebook space is accessible by the inhabitants and appropriated as their own (Wright 2012). Caveats existed in relation to accessibility in Oldenburg's original conception and so too with the shift to an online environment as a "third place", such as membership criteria to online community-based groups, 'netiqutte' of use and technological proficiency (Wright 2012; Soukup 2006). While the use of social

media sites can facilitate attachment, engagement and participation in the creation and maintenance of community, these can exclude those who are less digitally literate. Soukup asserts that lacking technological proficiency and appearing as a novice on digital media can stigmatise the user as inferior and may discourage further participation (2006 p. 430). Bechman cites previous research which found differences in participation on social media along lines of gender, age, education and confirmed by her own research (Bechman 2019). This suggests that it is possible that existing inequalities in real life may be reproduced through online interactions. I did not investigate gender and age difference in social media use among my participants so it is not possible to confirm the existence of the differences found by Bechman. The small number of my participants who reported participation on the community Facebook groups, did so in order to "meet people", therefore increasing their social capital, and to give meaning to their community identity, engendering attachment, expressing "love" for their place. The ways in which participants expressed attachment to their community is discussed in the next section.

10.3. Attachment and Belonging

Attachment and belonging are important because they are said to lead to positive outcomes such as more beneficial behaviour toward a place (Zenker and Rutter 2014) such as volunteering or "taking an interest in a place" (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974). This suggests a positive relationship between attachment and participation in community activities which can contribute the community's maintenance. Participants talked about the extent to which they did or did not have an attachment to their community and a sense of belonging. For some, their attachment and belonging related to how long they had been a member of the community while for others they related to what they did in their communities. Kasarda and Janowitz first researched community attachment, developing measures to establish its existence and found that length of residence was the strongest factor associated with community attachment (1974 p. 335). Trentlemen (2009) agrees that length of residence remains a strong predictor with few exceptions (2009 p. 202). Some of these exceptions include Lewicka who identifies differences in the dimensions of place attachment, with a civic/ social dimension positively related to length of residence (2011 p. 215). Lewicka also notes a curve in the attachment-length of residence relationship which indicates a rapid increase of attachment in the first few

years of residence, after which it flattens out (2011 p. 216). Savage *et al* also challenge the length of residence-attachment relationship with their notion of elective belonging. They assert that newcomers develop an attachment and sense of belonging to a place by virtue of their decision to locate to a place (2005 p. 207). Zwiers *et al* (2016) categorised newcomers as less than 20 years residence and established residents (locals) as more than 20 years residence, following the criteria set by Kasarda and Janowitz (1974). They found differences in orientations towards attachment between newcomers and established residents which resulted in different outcomes related to improvement and preservation. Newcomers sought change and adaptation while the locals sought to maintain the community in its current form, characterised by a sense of nostalgia (2016 p. 296). Attachment is also linked to participation in both formal and informal activities, with research suggesting that sense of community and place attachment manifest themselves behaviourally (Balassiano and Maldonado 2014; Manzo and Perkins 2006). My participants' accounts of their attachment to their communities both challenge and support these research findings. None of my participants was a resident of more than 20 years in their communities; Cambourne has recently celebrated its 20th 'birthday' and Orchard Park began in 2007. The length of residence for my participants ranged from two-and-a-half years to 15 years. I include the length of residence in brackets with the participants' names in the following analysis and discussion on participant's attachments.

My participants used the term 'attachment' as well as other related concepts such as loyalty, care, feeling connected and feeling a part of the community to describe their emotional bonds to their communities. Such terms and sentiments are common in the place attachment literature and it is important to understand how participants use these to describe their lived experience of community (Yerbury 2011).

> I feel like the old farmer who leans on his fork and says 'I remember when this was all fields'…I actually genuinely really do…I do have an *attachment* to it, I do actually really, really *care* about it; somebody has to don't they (Craig 15 years residence, age 37)

This participant is one who is described as a pioneer in the previous section and was one of the first few to move into Cambourne. Upon moving to Cambourne in those early days, Craig, above, did so as a single man. During his residence of 15 years when he was interviewed, he had since moved house within Cambourne, got

married and had a child. These represent significant life events, or what Manzo (2005) refers to as “milestone moments” which are periods of change and transition (p. 74). It is these “experience[s]-in-place” which create meaning, not simply the place themselves, and from which attachments can form (Manzo 2005 p. 77). Other participants intimated similar experiences, although not all and one participant in particular expressed experiences that are in contrast to the experiences of my other participants. These will be discussed further on.

Having lived in his community for under 20 years, this participant would be categorised as a newcomer according to Zwiers (2016) and be more likely to engage place-making activities which seek improvement and change. The participant is a pioneer and described himself as having a duty to ‘build’ his community, suggesting change and improvement as in Zwiers’*et al* (2016) research. There is also clear sense of nostalgia expressed by the above participant suggesting a yearning for something lost or a desire to return to something. A sense of nostalgia for the “village that was” was more characteristic of long-term residents in Zwiers’ *et al* research and place-making activities which focus on preservation. This participant is expressing both change and preservation orientations toward place-attachment, suggesting a more complex relationship than described by Zwiers *et al* (2016). Kasarda and Janowitz used the 20-year length of residence to distinguish between newcomers and established residents, suggesting that to form an attachment to place would take 20 years (1974 p. 333).

Many of my participants challenge these views related to timeframes and have developed attachment to their communities in a shorter timeframe. The participant Craig also described himself as “involved in everything”, which supports previous research which sees a relationship between participation and attachment. The research asserts that attachment leads to participation in community affairs (Balassiano and Maldonado 2014; Manzo and Perkins 2006) but for this participant it appeared to be his involvement in *building* his community which had led to his attachment to it. His engagement in place-making enabled his attachment to place. His attachment is characterised by care and his statement of “somebody has to don’t they” suggests that he thinks no one else will care for the community as he does. This chimes with past research by Oliver (1984) which found that people’s reason for participating is because they believe if they don’t nobody else will.

The following participant was an early arrival but not a pioneer and reported not participating in place-making activities and whose length of residence, the strongest factor influencing attachment, is less than half that defined by Kasarda and Janowitz (1974).

> We feel connected to the place because we moved in so early and we've grown with the community. (Jane 7 years age 37)

This participant's attachment has developed not because of the length of residence but because she has "grown" with the community. That the participant has "grown" with the community is indicative of interconnectedness of personal and place identity found in much of the research according to Hernandez *et al* (2007). They see attachment as a component of place identity which is influenced by length of residence, although they did not specify a minimum time necessary to develop place attachment. That she has developed an attachment to place within seven years supports other research which has suggested that there is a rapid increase of attachment in the first few years of residence (Lewicka 2011 p. 216). Jane, similar to the aforementioned participant, Craig, had started a family since moving to Orchard Park, one of Manzo's "milestone moments" (2005 p. 74), suggesting it was her ''experience-in-place'' which facilitated her attachment, in support of Manzo's findings. Jane reported not participating in informal and formal activities which contradicts research linking participation and attachment. Along with length of residence and milestone moments, participation in formal and informal activities is said to be an influencing factor in place attachment (Kasard and Janwotz 1974; Zwiers 2016). The following participant could represent the voice of dissent with regards to what the literature says about attachment in relation to participation and milestone events and in relation to the experiences of the other participants. Her experience was rather anomalous to the experiences of the other participants whose experiences of participation and belonging tended to align with the research. Her experience speaks to the power of community to "interpellate" without participation in networks (Somerville 2011 p. 3).

> There is lots going on but I don't really engage with it. […] Doesn't stop me *feeling part* of the community (Theresa 14 years residence, age 38)

This participant was an early arrival, but not a pioneer. That she feels part of the community without engaging with it, nor from some milestone moment, suggests elective belonging as developed by Savage *et al* (2005 p. 207), whereby she has an attachment by virtue of choosing to live in this community. The idea that one can

develop an attachment to place by virtue of choosing to live in a place is not widely supported by my participants, as expressed by one participant who liked where they lived but “don’t feel any loyalty to it.” (Shaun 8 years residence, age 32).

With the exception of Theresa above, the participants who claimed an attachment to their communities, had children. Having children could act as an anchor (factors which prevent people moving from a place) making a sense of rootedness more likely or it could be that those planning to have children moved to these communities because they were drawn to these particular places (magnets) and so were more likely to develop an attachment (Beckley 2003 in Lewicka 2011 p. 215). One participant’s perception of Cambourne changed from being “just a location to live and go to sleep and that was it.” (Simon 8 years) to somewhere he intended to stay having started a family, indicating he developed an attachment later and outside of the curve identified by Lewicka (2011 p. 215). This again offers support for Manzo’s (2005) milestone moments as engendering attachment. Research by Theodori (2004) found that in addition to the influence of length of residence attachment, age was also found to have an effect. Older people start off with a stronger attachment than younger people, but younger people’s attachment grows more rapidly. This could account for the attachment expressed by Theresa above given the apparent absence of other factors. The participants who indicated they had an attachment to their community tended to be those who had become members of the community during the early days of its development. This could suggest that the development of place attachment may work differently in new build communities which expand and develop alongside its members. The idea that attachment to place can come from participation in formal and informal activities is also challenged by my participants, most of whom reported little or no participation, but still expressed a feeling of belonging and attachment. It may be that those who did not participate did not see opportunities to do so, or they were not appropriate in meeting their needs. There could be differences in how they perceive their interactions, activities and the impact of these. They may not have perceived their “small gestures of sociality” (Jupp 2009) as contributing to the creation and maintenance of their community and may believe that participation is only possible through formal modes and activities.

Related to attachment is the notion of “community spirit” and although only two participants used that term, others used the term sense of community or talked about what could be conceived of as characteristics of these terms. Sense of community is a construct used in community psychology which is comprised of

membership, influence, fulfilment of needs and shared emotional connection (Mcmillan and Chavis 1984). It is not dissimilar to community attachment construct developed by Kasarda and Janowitz 1974). The presence of 'community spirit' or sense of community is widely perceived to have positive effects for individuals and communities (Talo *et al* 2014; Mcmillan and Chavis 1984). There was disagreement between participants on the existence of community spirit in their communities. The participant below, Jane, explained what she meant by her use of the term and believed it did not exist in Orchard Park;

> Know your neighbour, have a key if you're on holiday, know who children belong to or care- we don't have that here. (Jane)

Jane, a participant who lives at Orchard Park with her husband and a small child, draws on traditional notions of community, where interactions are face-to-face and can be related to the traits of 'gemeinschaft' identified by Tonnies (Taylor 2011 pp. 48-49; Delanty 2003 pp. 32-34). Jane does not want to just imagine her fellow community members, she has a desire to know them and to trust them enough to care for her home in her absence. Jane imagines a community where fellow members are connected and care and contrasts her imagined community with that of her lived experience. The way Jane has characterised community spirit is reminiscent of the communities which were the subject of Bell and Newby's community studies and those of Young and Willmott's East End communities which were characterised by strong locally based social ties (Bell and Newby 1971; Young and Willmott 1957).

In contrast, the following participant could not articulate what he meant by the term "community spirit" but nevertheless perceived "a lot" of it around;

> Dunno how to put it I think there's a real indication that people here do have a real interest in Cambourne and the future. You can't fault Cambourne for that; that community spirit and there seems to be a lot of that around. (Simon)

Although Simon struggled to really articulate what he meant when he used the term 'community spirit', his expression of "having an interest in the future" of Cambourne captures the sense of rootedness that is characteristic of community attachment and sense of community (Mcmillan and Chavis 1984; Kasarda and Janowitz (1974). The participant's inability to articulate community spirit chimes with Somerville's conception of it as an "unseen force that activates the set of practices that constitute community" (2016 p. 6).

Similarly, the presence of community spirit or a sense of community was perceived as the driving [unseen] force which brought the community together, often in response to a problem; “There’s problems with parking […] but having a moan about parking brings people together.” (Veronica); and to achieve a common goal and take collective action;

> We had a really good sense of community because we came together against the problems with the builders. These problems brought people together. (Theresa)

For Theresa, the shared experience of problems with the builders, brought them together as a community. The assertion in community theorising that community is turned to in times of crisis and uncertainty is upheld here (Kuecker *et al* 2010; Delanty 2003; Baumann 2001). Their shared experience brings them together as a community with a common interest which can, although not always, according to Taylor, provide the glue to turn a descriptive community into an active agent (Taylor 2011 p.46). The participant’s experience expressed above brings all three of Taylor’s dimensions of community together. The view from this participant speaks to Taylor’s instrumental dimension of community in which people come together to act collectively to achieve a common goal or change their circumstances (2011 p. 46). Coming together to address a problem indicates there is a sense of solidarity which Taylor sees as part of the normative dimension of community. Taylor asserts that it is often not the case that people sharing a place (descriptive community) and solidarity (normative community) translates into action (instrumental community), although there are often assumptions from policymakers that it will (Taylor 2011 pp. 47-50). This adds further weight to the point raised in the previous section that opportunities for participation need to be reconceptualised to provide opportunities which are appropriate and meet the needs of the community members.

10.4. A (pioneering) community within a community – K1 Housing, Marmalade Lane

As discussed in the introduction, two participants were to be members of a co-housing group to be built on a parcel of land within the administrative boundaries of Orchard Park but to the eastern outer edge. The K1 Engagement Plan explains the nature of cohousing and its intention;

> Far from the occasional misplaced stereotype of an inward-looking enclave or commune, K1 members see engagement and involvement in the wider

> community as an essential part of the ethos of cohousing, and essential to the place we will call home. (K1 2017 p. 2)

The participants were partners, aged 36 and 38 and expecting their first child. The K1 community had not yet been built at the time of the interviews. However, it has since been constructed and at the time of writing this analysis and discussion, all properties (42) within K1 have been sold and are occupied. The participants' interview extracts represent their aspirational visions of a successful community and the community they were intending to create. They compared their aspirational community to others in Cambridge which they perceived as successful, which were two well known, very affluent areas, where residents rally together and hold annual street parties. Describing their aspirational community as "something different", they aspired to become one of those successful communities;

> So for us to create a new community we hope to join the ranks of the most successful groups in Cambridge I guess. (Martin)

The participants describe their aspirational community as something different, but simultaneously desire it to be the same as others. This highlights the relational nature of place as asserted by Malpas "no place exists except in relation to other places…" (Malpas n.d. in Cresswell 2015 p.48).

A road encircles this parcel of land which separates it from the rest of Orchard Park. The houses are of a different style and constructed with different materials, setting it apart visually from the rest of Orchard Park. The group of houses are laid out in a kind of reverse Radburn style, so that the back gardens, rather than the front, face inward onto each other forming an enclosed square within which the residents' own (unfenced) gardens spill into a large shared green space, where social interactions take place. Within the development is a common house, with space for shared meals and other shared facilities. These are common features of cohousing developments (Ruiu 2014). K1 has clearly delineated physical boundaries signalling its difference and separation to Orchard Park adjacent to it and clearly identifying who belongs and who does not. The images below show one entrance to Orchard Park, Graham Road, and the character of the housing on the left, while the image to the right is Marmalade Lane which lines the other side of Graham Road .

Image 4
Graham Road, OP Source Google Maps

Image 5
Marmalade Lane Source: Papworth

At the time of writing, a one-bedroom apartment starts from £255,000, excluding those on modest incomes. The 42 properties are primarily owner-occupied, with only a few bought as investments for rental properties (Marmalade Lane.co.uk). Their neighbourhood is named 'Marmalade Lane', which invokes notions of nostalgia for a bygone era in which the 'community', in the words of Baumann, is "a warm place, a cosy and comfortable place […] where we are safe […]. We are never strangers (Baumann 2001 pp. 1-2). Co-housing, also referred to as 'intentional' communities, are on the rise throughout Europe and more recently in the UK, driven by the ongoing housing crisis, a desire to live more sustainably and a desire to live with others in a more communal way. For many, the decision to live in a cohousing development is an expression of certain ideals, often related to environmental sustainability and social justice or in response to the alienating effects of modern society (Tummers 2016; UK Cohousing Network). The UK Cohousing Network, of which K1 Housing is a part, currently list 68 entries (21 completed, 47 in development) in their directory distributed throughout the UK (UK Cohousing Network).

The participant's imagined cohousing community as they described it is the epitome of Tonnies' *gemeinschaft* and the communities of the work of classics such as Bell and Newby (1972) and Young and Willmott (1957), as discussed in Chapter 2. Such communities are claimed to have long been lost (Putnam 2000) and are the subject of the narratives of loss and discovery that have long dominated discourses

of ‘community’ and the quest to recover “paradise lost” (Baumann 2001 p. 3). These participants describe their aspirational community as;

> For me it’s like trying to create a village within a town. I grew up in a [rural area] and this is the closest I could get […] for bringing up children to how I grew up; where you know everyone; you know your next-door neighbours. (Wendy)
>
> I think that connection and helping each other with issues is kind of central. I think it’s really good for me living in a group which is physically close and you know really well and who do social things together. I’m looking forward to […] cooking for the group on the rota, gardening, that kind of thing… (Martin)

The participant, Wendy, is trying to recreate the community of her childhood, her past, so invoking a sense of nostalgia. Their imagined aspirational community has at its core, ideas of sociality, reciprocity and solidarity which develop out of social relationships and which are embedded in space and place. Far from place lacking importance in this imagined community as has been alluded to elsewhere, it is the foundation from which the social relationships develop and the ideas of reciprocity and solidarity enacted and performed (Savage *et al* 2005; Friedman 2010). The *space* of the common house, enables the *place* for the sociality of “cooking for the group” following the assertion from Malpas that the structure of place creates the possibility of the social (1999 cited in Cresswell 2015 p. 49).

It could be said they are trying to create a beloved community, an idea put forward by Somerville which he attributes to the likes of Martin Luther King, bell hooks and to early Christian communities of the seventeenth century (Somerville 2016 p. 16). The beloved community is one characterised by ties of compassion and care, expressing a spirit of cooperation, mutual respect and democratic decision-making (Somerville 2016 p.17).

They contrasted their imagined aspirational communities with their perceptions of what currently existed elsewhere, which they perceive as a kind of dystopia where there are no connections, no familiarity, only isolation, an inevitable feature of the modern world;

> The sense of community and belonging and connection to other people is really important. I think there is such a lack of connection in the way that you live now, in general (Wendy)
>
> Buying a small house on our own somewhere where we don’t know anyone and *never meet our neighbours* doesn’t really appeal to me. (Martin)

For these participants, the only way to avoid the lack of connection and live in a place where you know your neighbours is to reject communities such as Orchard

Park, and create their own cohousing community. They have closed off community as possibility (Shaw 2007). The lack of connection speaks to concerns about excessive individualism and the atomisation of society, located in recent debates on globalisation and belonging, with linkages to classic sociological ideas of Durkheim's anomie, Marx's alienation and Tonnies shift from *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft* (Day 2006; Morrison 2006; Savage *et al* 2005). Martin and Wendy do not appear able to imagine these connections being re-established, by themselves or their neighbours whom they assume they will "never meet" or know. There are assumptions here that their future neighbours will not seek to know them or even meet them, such is the "lack of connection in the way that [people] live now" but also suggestive that Martin will not seek out his future neighbours in the above context, rather accepting *fait accompli* that his future neighbours will not desire to connect, which he problematises. By the same logic, Martin is not seeking to connect with those who are not members of his cohousing community, but does not problematise his own behaviour. Martin is marking himself out as different to his future neighbours in his imagined community, which is not a cohousing one. They are, in the words of Cohen, attempting to "think themselves into difference"; he is imagining that his neighbours in any community other than a cohousing scenario, cannot be known or met by them and following such logic *must* be different and hold different values (Cohen 1985 p. 117). He is creating the symbolic boundaries of his imagined community (Anderson 1991; Cohen 1995) before construction of any geographical place-based community has begun. As asserted by Menin (2003), place-making is "simultaneously a material construct and a construct of the mind" (p. 1).

There are two imaginations occurring simultaneously here, one which affords sameness, the other difference. In imagined communities, as Anderson describes, fellow members are not known but imagined in engaging in an act which is the same and "replicated simultaneously", enabling an imagined communion. However, Martin, above, imagines one community through an imaginary of difference, the neighbours he "will never meet" whilst at the same time imagining his fellow members of his aspirational cohousing community through an imaginary of sameness. Martin imagines the neighbours he will never meet through difference because he imagines them not engaging in acts of reciprocity or sharing values of solidarity, as he would. The cohousing community are like him because they share values of reciprocity and solidarity, upon which, acts will be "replicated simultaneously" in their aspirational cohousing community (Anderson 1991 p. 35).

Anderson asserted, that we have imagined communities because we can "never know most of our fellow members" yet we could still feel connected to them (1991 p. 6). The participant, Martin below, acknowledges the limitations of how many to whom he can feel connected but also seems to imply that without the symbolic and physical boundaries of his cohousing group, that he would feel obligated to try to know or connect with "900 people" despite not being able to;

> I don't think there's any way to know 900 people as well as 50 or 80 odd to feel connected in the same way so the fact that it is a good size and there are facilities that we are all free to use and share and that we all look after I think is going to *naturally create* a strong sense of community. (Martin)

His statement about how many he can feel connected to may be revealing more about his perceptions of who the "900 people" are rather than about numbers themselves. He appears to think it only possible to connect to these smaller numbers in the context of his cohousing group, rather than in other forms of community.

The participant Martin sees a sense of community developing "naturally" as a result of using shared facilities within his cohousing group. Tummers, citing Labit (2015) reminds us that solidarity is not a natural given, it needs to be made explicit and nurtured (cited in Tummers 2016 p. 2029). Such a view expressed by the participant above that community or a sense of it will come naturally, implies a harmonious, consensual organic process in the creation and maintenance of community. Community does not simply happen. That the participant expects a sense of community to be created "naturally" suggests that he believes he does not have to make the same effort as the pioneer participants in this research described doing when creating community. The participant's statement that he and others in the cohousing community will "all look after" the shared facilities does imply that there will indeed be some effort, rather it is his perception that a sense of community will happen "naturally". The creation of 'community' and the attachments therein, comes through struggles and contestations (Hoggett 1997) and conflict is a key ingredient in moving things along (Holman 2015 p. 425). To neglect conflict in the processes of creating and maintaining 'community' is to neglect the role it can play in bringing about a richer, more equal and more dynamic dialogue (Taylor 2011 p. 276). Yerbury (2011) notes the word 'conflict' as one of those "words that go missing" which can relate to the 'dark side of community' along with related terms such as 'exclusion'. These terms point to the power to define who is in and who is out of community through the establishment of boundaries and difference, and

choices around interactions with 'others' (Taylor 2011 pp. 66-67). Notions of difference and boundaries were confirmed by Wendy;

> I think it's inevitable that it will be separate. It's not our intention to isolate ourselves from Orchard Park by any means. One of the aims of the community working group is to *interact* with the surrounding community and be a part of it, but there's no getting around that it's going to be different. (Wendy)

The participant's view that separation is "inevitable" suggests that she perceives a lack of control over the creation of her community, yet she is involved in the process of creating it. The use of the terms "separation" and "isolation" indicate strong boundary construction. The community they are trying to create has strong boundedness and bondedness, which Somerville explains as boundaries and connections (Somerville 2011 pp. 16-19). For example, membership criteria require commitment to the "community agreement" for participation in certain activities, such as shared cooking, gardening and site maintenance as well as financial contributions (MarmaladeLane.co.uk). This increases the likelihood that similar people will join the community, which is typically the more affluent in cohousing communities (Ruiu 2014). The bondedness is implied through the participants' intention to create a strong sense of community as commented in the previous extract.

The participants Martin and Wendy, did not perceive Orchard Park as a successful community nor one they wished to be a part of directly. The participant Wendy did not elaborate on how they might "interact" with the surrounding community, but given the "inevitable" "separate" existence any interacting may amount to an "elective belonging" (Savage *et al* 2005) whereby they have little interaction with the people of Orchard Park or the facilities therein (Pinkster 2013). The cohousing group share Orchard Park's overarching identity but the participants did not express a sense of belonging to Orchard Park. They do not see themselves as members of Orchard Park community despite its geographical proximity. Through their separation and isolation from the adjacent Orchard Park, they are engaging in what is described by Watt as selective belonging in which they embrace their cohousing oasis whilst simultaneously abjuring the 'other' Orchard Park, drawing symbolic boundaries (Watt 2009 p. 2875).

The participant, Martin, assumed differences in levels of interaction and participation from residents of Orchard Park and members of his cohousing group, marking out

differences between himself as a member of an intentional community and others who were not;

> We will interact probably as much as other people on Orchard Park but far more with each other than *they do with the people on their street* I would guess (Martin)

Martin was sceptical of the artificial engineering of Orchard Park and believed it had failed to develop a sense of community because everything had been "parachuted" in very quickly with insufficient time for community to "grow organically", yet he did not seem to envisage this as a problem with his own community, which is being similarly engineered. Martin doesn't imagine his aspirational community as "perfect", just "better";

> I didn't come into this thinking this is the perfect community for me and I don't think it ever could be because there's always going to be a compromise. I just thought this is a lot better than what else is out there (Martin)

The participant sees his vision of community as "better" than others, suggesting he views different types of communities as existing in a hierarchy, in which his is in a superior position and so other communities are seen as "failed places" (Cresswell 2015 p. 139). The participant's assertion that his vision of community is "better" than others contributes to othering discourses which stigmatise places and the people within them, further reinforcing their exclusion (Wacquant 2008; Goffman 1963). Such a view also suggests that he sees his vision of community as an example to follow, in the way that pioneers set the standard for others to follow. Following this logic, he perceives his vision of community as successful, while others are unsuccessful, closing down alternative possibilities of community (Shaw 2007).

Martin may find that the community of his dreams and the really existing community are quite different. As Baumann warns, finding ourselves in the grasp of the "really existing community" may demand such "stern obedience" that it may become oppressive over time (Baumann 2001 p.4). The security of 'community' is often weighed against the curtailment of individual freedom, seen as both liberating and controlling (Shaw 2007). Any imagining of 'community' necessarily entails normative ideas about what *ought* to be, shown explicitly by the participants in the above section. The ways in which he and Wendy perceive their community to be 'made' through participation in specific activities as an obligation of membership to the community is at odds with the literature which asserts that participatory

opportunities must be diverse to accommodate people's varying needs (McCabe and Phillimore 2017; Jupp 2008). It may be that because cohousing communities tend to be more homogenous in relation to socio-economic backgrounds (Tummers 2016) that such diversity in opportunities is less important.

The imaginings of Martin and Wendy above indicate a strong attachment and sense of belonging to a community that has not yet transpired. They have attachment to place but they are not yet *in place* (Cresswell 2015 p. 165). Such a strong sense of belonging in the absence of networks is indicative of the power of the ideology of community and its capacity to "interpellate" individuals (Somerville 2011 p. 3). They have already constructed the symbolic boundaries before the physical construction of the place boundaries begins. It could be said they are engaging in processes of disaffiliation, elective and selective belonging, through their close physical proximity to Orchard park and their rejection of membership to it or seeing it as a successful community. Orchard Park is part of Marmalade Lane's identity, yet the participants see the separation of the two as "inevitable". This goes against some research on cohousing communities which suggest see part of their aim as integration with the wider communities in which they exist in order to benefit wider society (Wang and Hadjri 2017; Tummers 2016). Their implied exclusion of the wider community and their limited interaction with it can add to the lack of connection in modern society they are attempting to address. In this way the cohousing community in which these participants are to become a part may be seen more as a 'club' than a community by non-members, a view reinforced by the costs of joining, which are likely to exclude those on modest and low incomes (Ruiu 2014). If the members of the cohousing community are perceived to be distancing themselves from the wider Orchard Park, those community members may reject any attempts to "interact" with them.

The participants believe they will create a successful community by applying principles of reciprocity, solidarity and communal living. For them, creating a successful community requires participation in shared face-to-face activities. Community based on face-to-face social relations can be linked to the distinctions made by Tonnies between gemeinschaft and gesellschaft, the former of which were embedded in place and based on cooperation (Taylor 2011 p. 49). However, there are characteristics of Tonnies' gesellschaft in that participation in face-to-face shared activities is done so out of contractual agreement for members of this

cohousing community. Relations are contractual and functional, not just cooperative. The participants here, in creating their community, are seeking to *recreate* and *recover* something they perceive as no longer existing in contemporary society. For them the only successful community is a cohousing one.

10.5. Conclusion

Successful communities, as conceptualised in the Sustainable Communities Plan (2003, 2005) are those which offer a sense of place, inclusion and belonging; a sense of civic values and responsibility; effective opportunities for participation; meet the needs of existing and future generations and accommodate all stages of life (ODPM 2005 pp. 56-59). The findings from my participants suggest these policy aspirations do not align with their visions of what a successful community is or with their lived experience. Day suggests that 'community' is something which people actively pursue as a measure of the gap between life as it is and life as it could be imagined (2006 p. 25). My participants indicate that such a pursuance is not a uniform endeavour and opportunities for doing so were not sufficient to accommodate the myriad of ways my participants sought to participate in the creation and maintenance of their communities.

There were stark differences between participants with children and those without, with the latter reporting feeling less attachment to their communities. For those without children, successful communities are those which can accommodate their current life stage, a policy aspiration which has not been achieved in this context. The data from my participants suggests a complex relationship between timing of arrival, participation and feelings of attachment and belonging, not adequately captured in the literature. While for some participants, their arrival to their new communities in the early stages of its development enabled them to feel like 'pioneers' because they were creating something through participating, this was not an experience shared by all of those who were early arrivals. The ways in which my participants engaged in the creation and maintenance of their new communities suggest that participation needs change as the development of the new community progresses, with informal, small gestures of sociality important early on. The experiences of my participants further suggest that formally organised activities did not meet their needs, resulting in some creating their own spaces for participation, both in the real world and online. These grassroots activities provided additional ways of belonging and developing social networks. These grassroots activities and

the changing participation needs of pioneers and followers highlight the importance of having space and opportunity to innovate in response to changing environments and to the ways in which people contribute to the creation and maintenance of their community in the real world.

11. Synthesis and Discussion

11.1.1. Introduction

The preceding data analysis and discussion chapters identify the ways in which participants conceive of successful communities and the strategies they adopt in contributing to the creation and maintenance of their communities. In this section the key themes from the preceding data analysis chapters are discussed and located within discussions of the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of my research. The chapter concludes by identifying implications for policy.

11.1.2. Perceptions of Place

Place-branding contributes to a community's identity and is an essential feature of place-making, the success of which is said to occur when people hold a favourable perception of a place (Boisen *et al* 2018 pp. 5-7). Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013) see place-branding as the link between place-identity, experience and image. In the literature, place-branding is typically employed at the city level or above and is often presented as a task undertaken by place-making professionals or local decision-makers, with community members seen as passive beneficiaries or target audiences with little to contribute to the construction of their place identity. My application of this literature at the neighbourhood level represents a novel use of these theoretical models and has the potential to provide insight into the ways in which place-branding works at levels smaller than the city levels. In addition, much of the strategies of place-branding are aimed at place-making professionals rather than the residents, or 'place consumers' as they are often referred to (Zenker & Braun, 2017 p. 275). Where opportunities are offered for participation, they tend be in ways pre-determined by place-making professionals which may not necessarily accord with community members' needs or circumstances. They ways in which community members participate in place-making activities, including that of place-branding, then are important to understand if they are expected to participate.

11.1.3. A great place to live

My participants engaged in place-branding strategies to contribute the creation of a place identity to which they could relate and in which they could take pride. My participants were aware of negative reputations of their places, which they perceived to be held by those outside of their communities. This is what is referred to as the 'self-reflecting image', the image that residents believe is held by outsiders (Skifter-Andersen, 2008 cited in Kearns *et al* 2013 p. 579) while their own assessment of their place reputation is typically more positive than that held by outsiders (Kearns *et al* 2013). My participants believed that outsiders held negative perceptions about their communities, which were inaccurate and not based on their own direct experience of these places because people had "never been there, never-mind lived there".

These negative reputations were rejected by my participants who engaged in developing alternative narratives of place to challenge these negative reputations. They engaged in brand work to create place reputations which aligned with their lived experiences. Participants did this by taking to social media (Facebook) to make declarations about how great their community is and through word-of-mouth to friends and colleagues (and speaking to a PhD researcher). Pementier *et al* (2007) use Hirschman's exit, voice and loyalty to characterise behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputation. The majority of my participants exercised 'voice' and 'loyalty' in their responses to perceived negative place reputation by employing strategies of counter narratives. By 'voice' it is meant that there is an expression of discontent directed at management or an organisation (vertical) or at peers (horizontal) and 'loyalty' includes speaking well of the place, strengthening social contacts and voting (Hirschman 1970 in Pementier *et al* 2007). None of my participants reported a desire to exercise 'exit', expressed as an intention to leave their places. It is possible that decisions to stay or not leave may have been determined more by a lack of opportunities for exit, rather than reflecting a positive and intentional decision to stay as such. Pementier *et al (*2007) note that opportunities for exit can be limited for homeowners and those with children. While these characterise the majority of my participants none expressed a desire to leave their place which they were unable to fulfil. My participants joined community-based groups on Facebook where they were able to exercise voice and loyalty through making connections with others bringing together their virtual and 'in real life' communities. My participants used social media to deliver narratives which countered perceptions of poor reputations, a strategy which is consistent with

Avraham's (2004) strategies for improving the image of a place when that image is unfavourable. These include, but are not limited to, delivering counter-stereotypical messages; ignoring the stereotype; acknowledging the negative image; and geographic association or separation in the campaign (Avraham 2004 p. 471). In doing so, my participants can be viewed as place ambassadors. As place ambassadors, they communicate the brand and come to be seen as trustworthy and authentic brand communicators because they are residents or insiders (Braun et al 2013 p. 21). This would amount to what Relph refers to as behavioural insideness in which there is a deliberate attending to the appearance of the place (1976 p. 53). Relph conceives other types of insideness and the extent to which they can be achieved, especially in relation to the mass identities of the instant new towns. He argued that such places offer no scope for empathetic insideness, which means to be open to the significances of a place, being open to all a place has to offer and to understand that place as rich in meaning and to identify with it (Relph 1976 pp. 54-58).

To say people cannot achieve empathetic insideness in such places seems rather deterministic and does not afford people agency. Relph explains there is no abrupt distinction between empathetic and behavioural insideness, rather there is a fading from concern with appearance [of place] to one of emotional involvement. Others have written that emphatic insideness is a degree of care and genuine interest in the place (Seamon 1984; Turner and Turner 2004). My participants demonstrated their interest and care for their place through their discursive defence of it and their efforts to challenge the negative reputation and replace it with a positive image of place. My participants who engaged in these processes then can be said to have the empathetic insideness Relph claimed was unavailable in places with mass identities characteristic of the instant new towns.

For some, their lived experience of being in place changed their preconceptions of their place. This reflects the intertwined nature of perception and experience described by Husserl in which each experience of perception brings forth fresh perception (Husserl 1931 in Moustakos 1994 p. 12). The actions of my participants in these processes of place-making are consistent with the way Heidegger conceives of "authenticity". For Heidegger, authenticity refers to a mode of being, Dasein which recognised man's [sic] freedom and responsibility for his own existence (in Relph 1976 p. 64). This concept is developed by Relph who sees authenticity as man [sic] making genuine decisions about changing their situation (1976 p. 64) in this case, changing the reputation of their place, contributing to the

creation of place identity and a sense of place. Where places did not have authenticity, Relph says involvement in the continuous process of place-making and the fact of having been lived in, used and experienced can lend places a degree of authenticity (1976 p. 71).

In contributing to their community's reputation and making it successful to them, the participants engaged in practices of distancing from 'problematic' neighbouring communities, and of 'problematic' areas within, such as social housing and BTL properties. They simultaneously aligned themselves with communities they perceived as successful, for example Cambridge and affluent neighbourhoods within Cambridge. As such, these associations and distancing contributed to the construction of symbolic boundaries among my participants. Through the symbolic construction of boundaries, participants could think themselves into difference, as asserted by Cohen (1985), against 'others' whilst simultaneously thinking themselves into sameness with those they wish to associate. Kavaratzis and Hatch, citing Masey (1994) argue that boundaries are not necessary for the conceptualisation of places (2013 p. 76). The ways in which my participants discussed the boundaries of their places suggests otherwise. The participants identified what they perceived as the successful parts of their communities and foregrounded these in their narratives and their lived experiences. Such strategies prevent them being part of a 'failed' place and instead construct their communities as a "good place to live" (Cresswell 2015 p. 139).

The ways in which the places were branded mattered to participants' ability to identify with the brand, for example Cambourne as a place for families and Orchard Park as a place for young professionals. Avarot says place-making should be accommodating of changing use and multiple relations (2002 p. 207). Kavaratzis and Hatch argue against attempts to create a place identity which has single, essential identities, rather place identity should link with place experience and image (2013 p. 75). For example, place-branding of Cambourne includes reference to its green spaces as part of its image of sustainability, which were experienced by my participants, so making a successful link between place identity and experience. Constructing place identity should include symbolic markers which should "build on the historicity of a place to create a new future" (Dembski 2014 p. 2018). For Orchard Park, the place brand was missing symbolic markers and the link with experience because "they bulldozed the orchard". The extent to which participants identified with the brand and saw their communities as successful was in part dependent on how they saw themselves aligning with the brand, for example if they had children

or not. For participants without children, this appeared to limit their ability to feel attached to their community and participate in its creation and maintenance, with the exception of one participant. It can be argued that these participants felt "out-of-place" (Cresswell 1996 p. 15). Their family structure was incompatible with the *proper* meaning of the place, which was centred around families with children. If one feels out-of-place or not at home, this may impact on one's ability to dwell, in Heidegger's terms (Urry 1999 p. 131).

11.1.4. Expectations

The expectations literature (see Chapter 7) was used in the interpretation and analysis of participants' views on what they thought their communities should and would look like. The expectations literature was developed in the field of consumer satisfaction but has expanded to other areas of research in recent years. These expanded areas include studies in public services and tourism but not in context of creating new communities, which can be seen as a hybrid of public and private/ commercial services. My use is a new application. This new application yields important insight into how people form expectations about their communities, how they perceive these expectations to be met or unmet and the ways they are satisfied or not as a result and see their communities as successful. My findings were inconsistent with the expectations literature in relation to participants' expectations of their community, offering both challenges and support to some of the main assertions of the expectancy-disconfirmation models. In addition, I have contributed to a greater understanding of how expectations work in the real world, as opposed to the artificial conditions of the experimental and survey designs which have dominated the expectations research.

11.1.5. We're still waiting…

Participants expressed similar views on what their community should look like. These expectations were related to facilities on the high street, amenities and housing tenure within their communities. Imaginaries of the traditional high street comprised an essential feature of successful communities for my participants but did not materialise in their lived experiences of their communities. Instead, my participants rejected what they perceived to be "discounty" stores and "soulless" pubs through practices of disaffiliation, in other words, avoidance. The participants

expressed expectations about what their communities should look like and these were perceived to have been unmet or disconfirmed. The importance attached to having expectations met with regard to constituent parts of their communities may relate to the significance each part has for the participants. For example, those with children may be more vocal about not having expectations met in relation to the provision of a school compared to those without children. Expectations exist on a hierarchy with participants' expectations ranging from an ideal, perfect scenario at the highest level to the worst possible imaginable outcome at the lowest level (Groholdt 2015). The highest level of expectations is aspirational. Those in the middle refer to normative (what *should* happen) and predictive (what *will* happen)- the latter of which may be based on past experiences of similar situations, services or products. In this context of this research, participants' expectations were based on experiences of previous communities in which they have lived, and on information available to them, such as the "developer's vision" in a sales brochure.

The structure of participants' expectations reflects those in the literature and comprise a collection, each one of which relates to different elements of their community. Their normative expectations contain what a successful community *should* include, such as a post-office, a GP, shops and green spaces. Their predictive expectations based on marketing brochures, the local development plan or the masterplan refer to what they think their community *will* include. There were discrepancies between the normative and predictive expectations. There was evidence that participants held minimally tolerable expectations where community members may 'make-do' with a mobile post-office, as in the case of Cambourne. At the bottom of this hierarchy of expectations is the worst possible imaginable outcome. For some participants in Orchard Park, this is reflected in a discussion by some of them of its designation as 'Beirut' and for those in Cambourne, its label as 'Crimebourne', both of which were rejected by my participants. It was possible for participants' expectations to be changed by their lived experience in their community. For example, an expectation that their place would be "soulless" changed to a "love" for their place. My participants' expectations can be viewed through Heidegger's conceptual lens of 'fore-conception' in which we already have a presupposition of what will be because "every seeking gets guided beforehand by what is sought"; the answer depends on how the question is posed (Heidegger 1953 cited in Moran 2001 p. 236).

Having their expectations frustrated did not necessarily result in dissatisfaction with their communities or seeing them as unsuccessful or as 'failed places' (Cresswell 2015 p. 138). This is in direct contrast to research by James who stated that having unmet expectations would trigger dissatisfaction (James 2011b). James suggested that satisfaction with different services should be disaggregated in order to assess expectations and satisfaction (James 2011a). While disaggregation may be useful for service providers seeking to improve constituent parts, this did not appear to impact on my participants' ability or willingness to express satisfaction with their communities and see them as successful. My participants expressed dissatisfaction with constituent parts of their community but expressed satisfaction with their community overall. That the expectations-satisfaction relationship did not work as predicted by James among my participants, yields insight into how expectations and satisfaction work in the real world, making an important contribution to knowledge. When my participants had their expectations frustrated or disconfirmed, they were able to adapt their expectations to accommodate new information and amend their expectations accordingly, for example living on a "building site was ok because we knew it was going to be like that". This offers support of the assertion by James on providing information as a strategy to manage expectations, although from whom is less clear (James 2011b). James asserted that such information should come from a source seen as credible, independent (of the service provider) and from an organisation which is not perceived as "politically unattractive" in order to be effective. Such information provision could also be used to raise the visibility of the parish council and their achievements, which appeared to be lacking among my participants. The information my participants received about having their expectations met, disconfirmed or delayed tended to come from the developers, about whom they held negative perceptions, so "unattractive", not independent of the provision of amenities/services but whom they nevertheless saw as credible in using the information to manage their expectations. Rather than being about attractiveness of the organisation, independence or credibility, this could be about how my participants perceived the roles of the different agencies involved in the development process, the purposes of which were unclear.

Bailey *et al* suggest that there is a need for a common understanding of the roles of those involved in order for communities to be successful, which appears to have been lacking in this context (2006 p. 68). There is then a need for strategies to better manage expectations in order to enable community members to amend their expectations in light of new information and see their communities as successful.

While the literature points to such an endeavour to be undertaken by those in parish council roles (for example Johnstone, Robison and Manning 2013) the data from my participants suggest this would not be successful because of a lack of visibility, perceptions of ineffectiveness and a lack clarity on parish councillor's expected roles in developments. My findings offer a useful contribution to knowledge in this area of research which has tended to champion the role of councillor as an effective way in which to engage community members and participate in 'community'.

Alternatively, such an endeavour could be one undertaken by a dedicated community worker who could be seen as neutral and independent of all level councils and the developers. Community workers have been employed variously to address poverty and manage conflict, settle residents into newly built housing estates and new towns, build capacity and 'empower' community members to have greater influence over decisions which affect their lives, the practice of which may be underpinned theories of radicalism or pluralism (Taylor 2011; Gilchrist and Taylor 2016; Somerville 2016). At times, community workers have been required to manage the expectations of community members, so that they are not "unrealistically raised beyond the capacity of authorities to fulfil them" (Bryant and Bryant 1982 cited in Craig et al 2011 pp. 138-139). Managing expectations is seen as a key factor in improving levels of satisfaction (James 2011a, 2011b, 2016) and my participants showed promise that strategies to manage expectations would work. Gilchrist and Taylor argue that community workers are often seen as trusted source of information (Gilchrist and Taylor 2016 p. 95), adding strength to the case to have dedicated community workers in roles to manage expectations. Such an endeavour may be more effective if undertaken at the outset of a development, so it seen as an integral part of the development, rather than being perceived as 'parachuted' in at later stages to deal with 'problems'.

11.1.6. I'm no snob but…

Providing mixed tenure developments is also seen as a contributor to achieving successful communities in policy and in research. This view was widely challenged by my participants who problematised perceived proportions of BTL properties and social housing and the impact on the success of their communities. Perceptions of social housing seemed rooted in discourses of a stigmatised 'other,' (Wacquant 2008; Goffman 1963) with whom my participants had little interaction and so these views go unchallenged by experiences in reality. These processes of 'othering'

arise out of discourses of social exclusion, the underclass and the residualisation of social housing (Wassenberg 2004 p. 227). Social housing, also referred to as council housing reflecting its history of local authority provision, was once seen as the solution to poor housing conditions and at various times intended to provide "homes fit for heroes" and people "drawn from all sections of the community " (Hanley 2007 p. 60; Holmes 2006 p. 17). Rather in contemporary society, social housing is seen as providing an "ambulance service" for those unable to support themselves (Harloe 1978 cited in Pearce and Vine 2014 p. 2), in other words those who exist on the margins of society. Estates and neighbourhoods in which social housing predominates are portrayed as hotbeds of crime, reflecting a 'broken Britain' and housing 'troubled families (McKenzie 2015). Jones documents the demonisation of working-class people through an interrogation of the derogatory term 'chav', an anacronym of 'Council Housed And Violent', synonymous with being 'poor' and 'worthless' (Jones 2011 pp. 8-11). Certain estates and neighbourhoods are constructed as dangerous or rough places, such as St. Ann's, Nottingham, the site of McKenzie's research cited above. Such othering is not confined to housing and class but permeates other areas along lines of gender, 'race', ethnicity and sexuality to name but a few. White working-class women are framed by associations of pollution, danger, distaste and excess heterosexuality, a pathologizing and moralising in which white working-class women are identified as a social problem (Skeggs 2005). Cohen's moral panics identified groups about whom we should be worried and whom we should avoid, such as young, working-class violent males, immigrants, welfare cheats and single mothers, 'black' criminality; as examined in Stuart Hall's 'Policing the Crisis'; and any groups seen as not 'belonging' (2011 pp. viii-xx). These groups are marked out through processes of symbolisation and labelling, subject to increased moral regulation and social control, sharpening the symbolic boundaries between 'us' and 'them', thus informing society whom to emulate and whom to avoid (Cohen 2011; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2009). As Kastoryano states "each society has its Otherness" (2010 p. 82).

Taylor explains that as public housing has become housing of last resort, occupied by people labelled as failures, outsiders reinforce the negative image and do not visit in order to test image against reality and so avoid such places altogether (Taylor 2011 p.95). These processes of otherising and avoidance are not inevitable. Somerville cites research from JRF in which tenure and social mix were not perceived as problematic, rather it was regarded as positive and not thought about in a problematic way (Somerville 2016 p. 14). The literature on mixed tenure

developments suggests that interactions between different tenure groups is key to challenging these views (Kearns *et al* 2013). However, this is problematic if social housing is provided in blocks away from other tenures and if there is a lack facilities within which different groups have opportunities for social interactions. My participants avoided areas of social housing and facilities they perceived to be "discounty" and so not for them, referred to as disaffiliation, making challenging such views through practices of social interactions difficult. In other words, any solutions based on social interaction of different groups becomes difficult if these groups are not interacting. If social mixing contributes to community, cohesion, etc. as the literature suggests, then the lack of social mixing because of physical design must be addressed.

Cresswell's notion of being "out-of-place" is a useful explanatory for the participants' views of social housing and BTL tenures as well as their perceptions of the provisions of facilities. As Cresswell explains, if something is perceived as being "out-of-place" it is seen as being incompatible with the *proper* meaning of the place (emphasis in original) (Cresswell 1996 p. 59). The meaning of a place is the subject of discourses of power, expressed as discourses of normality, which sets up processes of differentiation (them and us). My participants otherised social housing, referring to is as "ghettoised" and so out-of-place in their visions of successful communities. Cresswell sees mobility as being "out-of-place" and so the high turnover of BTL tenants may have contributed to perceptions of chaos and disorder (Cresswell 1996 p. 95). It can be argued that my participants who reported not using the "discounty" stores or the "soulless" pubs saw these places as "out-of-place" in their visions of successful communities and also could not see themselves "in-place" in attending these. If participants cannot see themselves "in-place" in the shared facilities and amenities of their community, this has implications for accruing the benefits that are said to come from social interactions. While supermarkets and "discount" stores would be considered 'placeless' by Relph (1976) or 'non-places' by Augé (1995), characterised by transience and anonymity, they are also 'places' of interaction. While for Relph and Augé large chain supermarkets (and other retail chain stores) may signal the growing placelessness in "instant new towns" such as those in my research, they can be places of social interaction, not simply spaces where contractual transactions occur. Goidanich and Rial noted how shoppers appropriated the space in supermarkets for socialising "transforming it into a place to which meanings are attributed", challenging the view of them as 'non-places' (2012 pp. 149-150). Studdert, discussed further below, asserts that all interactions,

such as chatting in the supermarket, contribute to our being-ness and community (Studdert 2016). Therefore, rather than non-places, supermarkets and the like facilitate our being and contribute to the creation and maintenance of community. Such interactions make up the everyday lived experience for those engaging in them. My participants' discussion of facilities such as the supermarkets, and 'third spaces' such as coffee shops and pubs, suggests they see these places as an important feature in their imagined aspirational community. That my participants reported not using the supermarket or discount stores reduces opportunities for these micro-level informal interactions on which successful communities are built.

A community centre has the potential to provide space for social interactions and several saw it as an essential feature of a successful community. However, my participants did not report using the community centres in their communities, rather they saw them as fulfilling the needs of others in their community. The Sustainable Communities Plan does not specify the provision of a community centre per se, rather it specifies opportunities for a range of leisure, cultural, sport, community and other activities in which to participate and interact. Community centres (or 'hubs' as they are increasingly referred to) are often provided through S106 agreements by the developer. However, centres are often not provided until later stages of development, if at all. Deas and Doyle argue that austerity has resulted in a tendency of developers to focus on housebuilding alone, without investing in community facilities (2013 p. 376). Research by Kang and Korthals-Altes (2015) argue for the provision of community centres earlier the development, seeing it as beneficial to the community for communication about progress and a space for interaction. Research by Medved suggests that community members' participation in the design or management of community can engender a sense of belonging (Medved 2017). The provision of a community centre early in the stages of development could act as a 'third space' (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982) enabling new community members to appropriate the space as their own. A community centre could act as a base from which a dedicated community worker could act as a conduit for information about the development and implement strategies for managing expectations, as well as challenge perceptions about the nature of social housing. The role of community centres in the creation of successful communities appears to be an area that appears to be relatively under researched, so this would need to be examined further before attesting to its efficacy.

11.1.7. Pioneers and Followers

Participation in the life of community is seen as important in its maintenance, for engendering feelings of belonging and attachment, strengthening social networks and facilitating collective action (Taylor 2011; Cornwall 2008; Eversole 2008). The extent to which my participants participated in the creation of their community and community life varied, along with the ways in which they participated. The ways in which the participants spoke about how they belong to their community and participate in its creation and maintenance both fit with traditional ways of belonging and challenged them. For example, as discussed in the previous analysis chapter, some participants made use of Facebook to make connections with others, in addition to connecting with people in real life. Social media did not replace place-based community, but supplemented it. Chanan and Miller see local community groups as fundamental building blocks of community (2013 pp. 53-54), yet my participants appeared to give them little importance, with most reporting no participation in them.

A small number of participants referred to themselves as pioneers or settlers. These participants were among the first few to arrive to their new places and so saw themselves as having created the community through their efforts. They had done because they arrived when there was a lack of facilities or activities ready-made in which they could participate. They describe themselves as having to 'make an effort', in the absence of any alternative. These efforts had enabled them to develop an attachment to their place. Other participants, who arrived early on did not make an effort in the way the pioneers did, but still expressed an attachment to their place. Those who arrived even later expressed no attachment, nor did they appear to make an effort. This suggests a complex relationship between timing of arrival, participation and attachment to place. These are discussed in the next section.

11.1.8. Making an Effort

Some participants were in parish councillor roles fitting in with well-established modes of participation, some organised their own activities and others engaged in third places via social media. None of the participants reported engaging in formal opportunities for place-making, aside from the parish councillors. Opportunities to "dip in and out" and engage in informal activities, small gestures or micro-sociality

are seen as important in providing alternative spaces for participation in place-making (Jupp 2008). My participants' participation in 'community' through social media, made use of it to contribute to place identity, engender feelings of belonging and defend the reputation of their communities. The variation in ways of participating and the extent of participation suggests that a much wider range of participatory opportunities are required and need to be perceived as legitimate and valid. This is especially important if participation is to include those beyond the "usual suspects" (Taylor 2011 p. 250). Participants may have perceived legitimate participation as that which takes place through established "delegated governance structures" (Connor 2011) such as parish councillor roles or responding to formal consultations discovered through an "orange sign on a lamppost". My participants may not have perceived themselves as having power of agency or possibility to act or they may believe that such action is for those in councillor roles or "somebody else". As Malpas explains, Heidegger's "being-in" the world, is a matter of "active involvement";

> while all agents have some access to the space in which they act, not all agents have the access that comes from being able to represent or conceptualise that space or their access to it- to recognise or acknowledge it as such (in Kiverstein and Wheeler 2012 p. 321).

Prior to this involvement though, Malpas says agents must have a sense of the space one is in, to be orientated, which means to have a sense of the possibility of action (Malpas 2012 p. 316). In other words, agents must *conceive of themselves* as capable of action and recognise the space in which to act (my emphasis). If people are to participate, they must first recognise that they can, and they must see spaces as their own to appropriate and to which they can give their own meaning. Studdert proposes a different way of thinking about social interactions in which every act of sociality, from the most mundane to the most crucial, contributes to the creation and maintenance of community, not simply those which fit neatly into pre-determined categories of participation or modes of being (Studdert 2016). The repetition of these acts of communing produce meanings in common and feelings of togetherness or separation. Studdert reconceptualises 'community' not as a thing to join, a noun, or something lost, lacking or in need of recovering and rebuilding. Rather he conceptualises 'community' as something we *do*, a verb in which communing produces "being-ness" as an outcome of ongoing action in common (Studdert 2016 p. 623) (my emphasis). In this way, 'community' is always present in every act of sociality undertaken. Studdert explains that no one form of sociality is

given priority, rather the smallest act from “hanging the washing out with a friend” to “engaging with government” and chats at the supermarkets are of equal importance, “not just those to which we attach pre-emptive value” (2016 pp. 659-629). To illustrate the application of his analytic, Studdert offers examples of interactions at a steering group meeting and a day-long community event organised by the group. These examples do not seem to represent those acts of micro-sociality, rather they seem more akin to action in the traditional “delegated governance structures” (Connor 2011) which are likely to be occupied by the “usual suspects” (Taylor 2011 p. 152; Parker and Murray 2012; Somerville 2016 p. 93) who already conceive of themselves as capable of action (Malpas 2012 p. 316). In other words, Studdert’s examples do not illustrate the ways in which acts of micro-sociality contribute to ‘community’ by groups outside of the ‘usual suspects’ or outside of traditional opportunities for participation, rather he sticks to those with “pre-emptive value”. This therefore limits its analytical value in understanding the ways in which acts of micro-sociality outside of these spaces and groups contribute to ‘community’.

It is unclear in Studdert’s analytic if people must themselves see their acts of micro-sociality as constitutive of ‘community’ or if the actions are constitutive in themselves, without the consciousness of the actors who perform them. Among my participants, it was only those who were pioneers who conceived of their actions as contributing to community, whilst seeing others as not making the same “effort” in building their community. Pioneers engaged in actions they perceived as *intended* to contribute to the creation and maintenance of their community. That participants are consciously and intentionally engaging in “effort” in building their community suggests they have not yet reached Relph’s “existential insideness” (1976 p. 55). Relph describes this as the most fundamental form of insideness, the experience of which comes without deliberate and self-conscious reflection though is still full of significance (1976 p. 55). They did not conceive of chats in the supermarket as contributing to community. This suggests that participants still conceive that making community requires “effort” and intention rather than emerging as a by-product or an unintended consequence of acts of micro-sociality described by Studdert. This points to a disconnect between how people view community in the real world, their contribution to its creation and maintenance and Studdert’s analytic. In this way, Studdert’s analytic lacks connection to people’s everyday lived experience in the real world, which is needed in order to better align theory, policy and practice in relation to ’community’ (Little 2002; Wallace 2010).

11.1.9. (in)Actively Seeking Belonging

The data from my participants suggests a complex relationship between timing of arrival, participation and attachment. My participants can be loosely grouped in the following ways. Pioneers were those who arrived early in the development of the place and who saw themselves as actively creating community, through their participation and in light of little else existing at that time. They were involved and reported being attached to their place and had a sense of belonging to their community. Early arrivals joined the place in its early stages, like the pioneers, but reported little by way of participation the creation and maintenance of their community. Nevertheless, these participants reported feelings of belonging and attachment to their place. Both the pioneers and early arrivals can be said to be experiencing their places as behavioural and emphatic insiders (Relph 1976). Both forms of insideness require a deliberate effort of interest and care in knowing and experiencing place. Followers came to their place during later stages of its development, although still at a time when their places were incomplete, and were unattached and uninvolved. The followers reported little or no participation in the life of their community nor did they express any attachment or sense of belonging to it. Staying with Relph's continuum of insideness-outsideness, followers may be seen as experiencing place as incidental outsiders. The incidental outsider experiences place as background setting (Relph 1976 p. 52). Like Relph's flight crews for whom the places they visit hold little importance, my participants as followers' experience of their place are similarly fleeting in nature. In Heideggerian terms, the followers inhabit but they do not dwell even (Heidegger 1971). The pioneers and early arrivals shared similar lengths of residency in their places, but differed in their participatory activities, yet both groups reported feelings of belonging and attachment. Pioneers carved out opportunities for participation in the creation and maintenance of their community, while others did not. In the way that Relph describes the pioneers of North America, as undertaking authentic place-making through their own labour and commitment, so too can the efforts of my pioneer participants be described (Relph 1976 p.76). Relph was critical of "instant new towns", the uniformity and standardisation of which he saw as creating "placelessness" and engendered an inauthentic attitude to place (1976 p. 118). Both research sites can be considered a version of Relph's "instant new towns" in that they are both new builds and there is a degree of uniformity and standardisation which comes from the masterplan and design code. For Relph then, 'new' places can never achieve authenticity and will only ever achieve a superficial sense of

place (1976 p. 80). However, my pioneer participants indicate that Relph's assertions were inaccurate, at least in this context. If the authentic attitude is characterised by a responsibility for one's own existence and making genuine decisions about how to change one's situation (Relph 1976 p. 64), then my pioneer participants' attitude to their place can be considered authentic. It may be that their authentic attitude to place was employed precisely in order to avoid the placelessness of an "instant new town" to counter the "kitsch". Relph's assertion that instant new towns can only afford a superficial sense of place affords people residing in such places with little, if any, agency in changing their situation, which he claims is the essence of authentic being. My pioneer participants, and those who reported a sense of belonging and attachment to their place challenge this assertion.

In Heideggerian terms, they are building to dwell and dwelling to build (Heidegger 1971). For Heidegger, building *is* dwelling and to dwell signifies intent to remain, to stay *in a place* (my emphasis) (Heidegger 1971 p. 146). In this way, dwelling concerns ideas of belonging, identity and authenticity and as relating to place (Malpas 2014 p. 16). Dwelling, as belonging, is achieved through activities of cultivation and construction, conceived of as building as nurturing (as one would 'build' relationships of care) and building as physical buildings (Heidegger 1971 p. 146). Heidegger, and Relph developing Heidegger's ideas, posit that we cannot dwell without building or we cannot dwell authentically, if we are not sincere and facing the realities of our existence and making genuine decisions about how we can or cannot change things (Relph 1976 p. 64). By this logic, only my participants as pioneers dwell authentically and belong. The early arrivals dwelled without building, without constructing or cultivating. If constructing and cultivating is authentic dwelling, then these participants do not dwell authentically. My pioneer participants who were to belong to a cohousing community not yet built, were in a Heideggerian sense, already dwelling, because we are always already in place (Malpas 2014; Heidegger 1971). However, Malpas problematises such notions of belonging and dwelling as related to place and argues that rethinking of belonging as dwelling is required, which allows different modes of being. He explains that we continue to dwell in the face of modernity, so what changes is how our understanding of dwelling and self is articulated (Malpas 2014 p. 21). Dwelling concerns our everydayness, our ordinary being in the world, arising out of a

responsive engagement with the world, but there are no rules as to how this is to be done (Malpas 2014 p. 22).

For my pioneer participants then, their responsive engagement with their world, their place, came not from “invited spaces” (Cornwall 2008) but through the creation of their own spaces which they can imbue with their own meaning. Opportunities for participation in “invited spaces” for place-making are based on different modes of being. Participants’ accusations that developers were out of touch and didn’t know how to “do new places” can be understood by Allen and Crookes’ assertion that those designing places do so at a social and spatial distance and on the basis of different knowledge perspectives. The knowledge of those designing places comes from ‘formal’ orders of knowledge, professional perspectives, which are afforded legitimacy in planning policy and practice, which do not correspond with experiential forms of knowledge, those of community members (Allen and Crookes 2009). The ‘local’ orders of knowledge, the experiential which comes from everyday experiences and understandings of dwelling, are, according to Allen and Crookes, often denigrated (Allen and Crookes 2009 p. 476). Allen and Crookes argue that such differences, different modes of being, must be rectified if place-making is to be successful. In other words, place-making opportunities for participation need to align with people’s everyday experiences of dwelling and being, their experiences of everyday sociality and the spaces in which this happens.

The lack of alignment with the everyday lived experience resonates with a point made by Somerville that how a community is to be developed has been reduced to how community is to participate in prescribed structures, which are ineffective for communities’ needs and aspirations (Somerville 2016 p. 95). This suggests that governance structures have not changed and any notion of ‘partnership working’ or obtaining views from residents/ community input is rhetorical not done in practice or at least has little or no impact. There are tensions around places for informal participation in everyday sociality – because everyday sociality takes place in coffee shops (for those who can afford the price of artisan coffee), traditional high street places where opportunities for more sustained interaction would happen, such as the post office or the traditional community centre or other “third spaces” (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982). Such places are either disappearing or being reconceptualised and reconfigured into multi-use, multi-storey centres, which evidently do not meet the needs of contemporary community members. Community facilities come at pre-

determined trigger points for developers, without any temporary stop gaps until that point, limiting spaces for social interactions and place-making opportunities. The evidence from my participants suggests that a far wider range of opportunities for participation are needed and which can adapt to the changing needs as the development progresses.

11.1.10. Ideas of Community

When invoking ideas of community, my participants drew on familiar notions of community consistent with many of the ways in which it is theorised in the literature, as discussed in Chapter 2. They saw their communities as geographically bounded entities in which face-to-face interactions occurred, although the boundaries of these did not necessarily align with their practical enactment of it in their everyday routines. My participants discussed their membership of virtual communities, the membership and boundaries of which they aligned with the place-based communities to which they belonged, bringing the virtual and 'in-real-life' communities together. In this way, their virtual community facilitated the developments of social networks online and in real life. They used social media to defend their community and create an alternative narrative of their place. Participants imagined their fellow community members through both sameness and difference, constructing symbolic boundaries between 'us' and 'them' in doing so and invoking normative dimensions of community, especially around perceptions of making an effort in its creation and maintenance**.** Here, participants drew on ideas of reciprocity and mutual responsibility, seeing themselves, and others, as morally obligated to participate in the creation and maintenance of their community.

The participants who were to be part of the cohousing community, were purposely creating a community which would be small and based on primarily face-to-face interactions. They constructed symbolic boundaries to differentiate themselves from those who were not to be members before physical construction of the place had begun. They were seeking to recover a community which they perceived as no longer existing in contemporary society, based on a nostalgic past. They belonged to their imagined community and were attached to it before its physical manifestation. It could be argued that they were seeking to create a beloved community (Somerville 2016 p. 16).

There was little evidence of community as action, or what Taylor refers to as instrumental community (2011 p.50) in terms of coming together in collective enterprise to change their circumstances among those not in councillor roles. When participants talked of collective action, it was through the concepts of community spirit and sense of community when they came together "against the problems with the builders". In this sense, participants turned to community in their time of crisis (Kuecker, Mulligan and Nadarajah 2010). This has implications for policies aimed at mobilising citizens based on assumptions that shared space equates to shared interest and translates into action. There was variation among participants on the extent to which there was a sense of community or community spirit and the ways in which they articulated it. These articulations included feelings of trust, care and interest in the future of the community in which they lived. These ideas capture the sense of rootedness, belonging and attachment participants felt toward their community and how they perceived others' commitment to community.

An important finding for contributing to theorising of community relates to the idea that every act of sociality contributes to community. This idea is put forward by Studdert (2016) and suggests that acts of micro-sociality, such as chatting in the supermarket, should be afforded the same level of importance as engaging with government when analysing community. This was not how my participants saw themselves or their acts of micro-sociality, save those who were pioneers. The pioneers saw their acts of micro-sociality of having social events at one another's houses as contributing to the creation of their community. It is not clear if people must be aware of the contribution their acts of micro-sociality make to community or if the acts are constitutive in themselves, without the consciousness of those who perform them. This analytic does not align with my participants' lived experiences or the reality of community for them.

Another inconsistency with the theorising on community and the experiences of my participants relates to the dynamic nature of both place and community. In the literature, both place and community are seen as dynamic, ever-changing, never finished products. For example, Kuecker, Mulligan and Nadarajah (2010) say we must think of community as a constant process of formation and reformation in response to ever-changing local and global conditions (2010 p. 250). Similarly, Delanty sees community as never complete, but always emergent (Delanty 2003 p. 115). Cresswell asserts, people are creating places at all scales and everywhere in

a myriad of ways, produced (and reproduced) through the reiteration of practices- the repetition of seemingly mundane activities on a daily basis (2015 p. 116); Places are always “becoming” (Pred 1984 in Cresswell 2015 p. 65). Both place and community are constantly made and remade. However, my participants saw their place and community as something which would reach a state of completion; an end product to be realised. These contradictions may reflect the differences in conceptualising community as an ideal and a social reality, and the challenges identified by Delanty in balancing the imagined and symbolic nature of it and its reality as a particular form of experience concerning sharing, solidarity and belonging (Delanty 2018 pp. 1-5).

11.1.11. Aspirations of successful community- participation, class and lifestyle

Underpinning participants’ narratives of community are ideas of class and participation. The ways in which participants invoked these ideas are consistent with recent research on ways of belonging in which middle class identities, lifestyles and patterns of consumption are reproduced and privileged over working-class identities and lifestyles (Savage et al 2005; McKenzie 2015; Jeffery 2018). The reproduction of middle-class patterns of consumption, according to Paton, leads to a delegitimisation of working-class identities and a dis-identification of the working classes with their working-class identities (Paton 2010 p. 138).

My participants did not explicitly identify themselves as middle-class, though the majority were homeowners (including shared ownership) and tenure is still used as an indicator of SEC by ONS (2016), despite the ‘cultural turn’ in class theorising discussed below. However, my participants implicitly position themselves as middle-class through their rejection of both symbolic and physical manifestations of parts of their communities which they perceived to be working class. For example, participants rejected the association of Orchard Park with its neighbouring community of Arbury, an established, working-class council estate with a long-standing poor reputation. Participants rejected what they perceived as working-class patterns of consumption through their avoidance of bargain shops. They desire a middle-class community, which they expressed through an association with affluent Cambridge and their place for professionals, and through conspicuous consumption at high end retail stores.

This implicit class positionality of my participants resonates with Dorling's assessment of class as all pervasive and lying underneath, although no longer neatly categorised by occupation (2014 p. 454) and the classed nature of lifestyles, tastes and practices in the absence of explicit class identities (Flemmind, Jarness and Roselund 2018). Articulations of class as lifestyle and consumption have been the subject of recent theorising on social class which has taken a cultural turn, viewed largely through Bourdieusian sociological concepts of habitus and field (see for example Harritts 2013; Mills 2015; Silva 2015).

It is not my intention to go into an exposition of class theorising, rather the classed practices in which my participants engaged, structured their modes of being-in-place. As Allen and Crookes explain, our understanding of place emerges from our involvement in it and is shaped by "filters of socialisation" such as gender, age, class, ethnicity and so on (Allen and Crookes 2009; Sepe and Pitt 2014 pp. 221-222). The impact of this structures their interactions, with whom and their participation in their community, thus enabling an exercise of their relative symbolic power in what kind of place is made, and in whose image. As Benton and Jackson confirm, "people do not merely select a place to live that matches their habitus"; rather the middle classes actively make and maintain place through their repeated everyday actions, which range from shopping, house renovation to more concerted efforts such as local campaigns regarding the future of the area (2012 pp. 794-801). As such, place-making becomes a largely middle-class endeavour perpetuated by place-making professionals who are selling a vision which speaks to middle-class lifestyles and identities (Allen and Crookes 2009); the cost of which excludes or frustrates efforts from those of working-class backgrounds; for whom middle-class lifestyles through consumption are unattainable (Paton 2010). The result, according to Jefferey, is an "un-elective belonging" of the [marginal] working classes in which they experience physical and psychological exclusion from their place as it is made around them (Jefferey 2018 pp. 257-258). This also structures participatory opportunities, privileging some over others, reinforcing middle-class modes-of-being-as-participation as legitimate and limiting the being-with. The impact of this could be that some do not perceive their efforts in place-making or their modes-of-being-as-participation as valid or valued, thus discouraging further participation. The *impact* of s/elective belonging and disaffiliation of the middle classes on the working classes could not be verified

by my findings, rather my findings confirm these practices were engaged in by the middle classes among my participants.

Participation came through strongly in many of the participant's discussions, in the way that they and others, did or did not, participate and the impact of this on the success of their community. Although many *related* their participation to their feelings of attachment and belonging, they did not necessarily *equate* participation with feelings of attachment and belonging. Some viewed their own participation as contributing to the creation and success of their community, seeing a lack of participation from others as a hindrance to the creation of their community, while others placed less importance on participation for success or belonging. Participation is varied, inconsistent and messy in real life, as opposed to how it is conceived of in models and ladders in the literature, and the motivation to participate may not be a desire for citizen control (Arnstein 1969; Taylor 2011). Viewed through one lens, for example my participants as pioneers, a small number of people participate in a limited range of activities. However, viewed through a different lens, such as my participants as enthusiastic place-ambassadors, more people participate in a wider range of activities, all of which contribute to place-making and the creation and maintenance of their communities. These different perspectives mean that the same people may be categorised as not participating viewed through one lens, but participating when viewed in an alternative way, by themselves or others. Some may not be seen at all through either/or lens. Adopting a different focus through a wider lens can more accurately capture the myriad of ways in which people contribute to place-making and the creation and maintenance of their communities and therefore should be recognised in policy.

The participants' discussions of participation and its impact raises questions about how some participants viewed the activities of others, perceived as not participating, and point to the subjective nature of perceptions of participation. Modes-of-being-as-participation, and Heidegger's linkage to building and dwelling, sees being as referring to the whole range of human productive activity, and so to capture all human productive activity requires a wider lens than through which it is currently viewed and legitimated in policy. Therefore, this matters for policy because participation is often the common thread across different policies and across strands within a policy, the implications of which the discussion shall now turn.

11.1.12. Policy Implications

Successful communities, as defined in the Sustainable Communities Plan (2003; 2005) have attractive and viable town centres, offer a sense of place in which people can take pride, offer a sense of community identity and belonging, facilitate effective participation and have effective leadership and governance. It could be argued that success has been achieved. Both places have 'centres' which are economically viable, there are opportunities for participation and recognised governance structures and leadership in place. However, success may be in the eye of the beholder. The extent to which this has been achieved for my participants was variable. My participants' expectations were simultaneously met and unmet or in a state of ambiguity about when they would be met. Participants expressed dissatisfaction with constituent parts of their communities, such as with the lack and quality of facilities, yet still conceived of their communities as successful. This dichotomy of success and dissatisfaction suggests that the way expectations work in the real world is more complex than the expectancy-disconfirmation models allow for and merits further investigation. There was support for employing a strategy to manage expectations, enabling participants to adapt their expectations in light of new information. However, in contrast to the literature which would see such a strategy undertaken by parish councillors, data from my participants suggest this would not be successful because of a lack of visibility, perceptions of ineffectiveness and a lack of clarity on parish councillor's expected roles in developments. This could see a role for dedicated community workers. My findings offer a useful contribution to knowledge in this area of research which has tended to champion the role of councillor as an effective way in which to engage community members and participate in 'community'. Given this new application of the expectations literature in the context of creating new communities, this is an area ripe for further research especially given the growth of new urban extensions and the recent policy development of a new wave of garden cities, towns and villages (HoC Smith and Pratt 2017).

My participants were keen to find a way to see their community as 'successful' and for others to do so. The participants identified what they perceived as the successful parts of their communities and foregrounded these in their narratives and their lived experiences. They looked for ways in which to create a narrative of

success through challenging negative reputation, participating in their own activities and place-making both in real life and on social media, not necessarily through formal channels. Participants needed to be able to identify with the community identity. This is where communities were not seen as successful for some participants. For example, participants without children tended to feel less attached and aligned with Cambourne because they saw the overarching brand of Cambourne targeting families with children. My participants wanted to see themselves reflected in their communities, both in the brand offerings of community and in the built environment. Their inability to do so impacted on the ways in which they participated in their community and with whom. Community identity, the brand and image of the community, must be multifaceted in order to appeal to a diverse range of people and across the life stages as indicated in the Sustainable Communities Policy.

The way my participants make their place and community does not fit with the opportunities to do so provided in policies such as the Sustainable Communities Plan (ODPM 2005) and its local implementation. Opportunities for participation have not evolved to accommodate the ways in which people wish to participate in contemporary communities, such as through facebook groups set up by themselves, rather than official channels such as parish councils and via councillor roles. Opportunities for participation need to adapt as the development progresses. For example, pioneers participated in informal small acts of sociality in the early days and then transitioned to engage in more formal processes of place-making, such as joining the parish council. This suggests the need for different opportunities at different stages of the community's development and points to involvement in place-making as an evolving process that can adapt to a changing environment. Participation was better when participants created their own spaces in which to do this, however doing so is difficult if these spaces are not recognised in policy as valid modes of participation or they sit outside established delegated governance structures. People did not necessarily see their small gestures/micro-sociality as contributing to 'community' rather they appeared to conceive of big gestures, such as parish councillor roles or participation in organised, formal activities as valid and important. Not seeing themselves as active agents in the creation and maintenance of their communities or their small acts of sociality as a valid contribution to the creation and maintenance of their community, represents a disconnect between theorising on community and its practical enactment in the real world. If community members are expected to participate in the creation and maintenance of their

communities, they must have awareness of the ways in which their acts of sociality, from small to large, can contribute to that and there must space in policy to facilitate this. My findings are consistent with the literature which highlights the importance of participation however, opportunities to do so have to be the right kind and at the right time for those wishing to participate. Failure to accommodate the whole range of human productive activity which contributes to place-making, risks perpetuating existing inequalities and not reaching beyond the pool of usual suspects. If, as the literature indicates, community and place are dynamic and always ongoing, then opportunities to participate in the processes to create, recreate and maintain these need to be equally dynamic and changing. I shall now move to my final conclusions, reflections and considerations for further research.

12. Conclusion

This final chapter discusses my overall conclusions. Each of the research questions are addressed individually to demonstrate achievement of the study's research aims. Key recommendations for policy follow discussion of the research aims. Discussion of the limitations of the study are followed by the strengths of the study. These are identified in the context of the study's contributions to knowledge. Suggestions for further research are identified in the final section.

12.1. Creating Successful Communities?

My research aimed to investigate the extent to which policies to create successful communities aligned with community members' lived experience. In other words, whether policy aspirations transpired into reality. The catalyst for my research was the extent of growth in the Cambridgeshire sub-region over the next 20 years with plans for several new build communities, ether as wholly contained new settlements and towns or urban extensions (for example Northstowe, Waterbeach Barracks, Trumpington Meadows, Eddington). This was coupled with negative media reporting, locally and nationally on my research sites of Cambourne and Orchard Park, and anecdotal reports from residents concurring the negative media coverage, despite both places having been at other times deemed 'successful' from external reports or awards (see Chapter 1). The masterplans and marketing materials promised to deliver exceptional communities based on the principles of sustainable design.

As discussed in Chapter 1, and demonstrated through engagement with the literature in Chapter 4, it has indicated that the views of community members have been neglected in community building policies (Wallace 2010; Little 2002). Therefore, this has led to an incomplete picture of how community is made, experienced and negotiated. My research addresses these gaps by foregrounding the lived experiences of community members themselves and their articulations of community. In addition, much of the research on community has focused on those which were the target of regeneration policies, so in essence being *remade* (Wallace 2010; Doering 2014; Lewis 2016). There has been less attention paid to

how ‘community’ is made in new build communities which is the focus of my research (although see Bennett and Morris 2006). The focus on how ‘community’ is made by community members in new build communities is important given the ongoing growth in the South-East of England, and Cambridgeshire, since the designation of these as growth areas (ODPM 2003, 2005; CCC 2018; CC 2018), and the announcement of a new wave of garden cities, towns and villages across the country (Smith and Pratt 2017).

Addressing my research aim required an investigation of the following questions;

> *How are successful communities conceived of in community building policies?*
>
> *How do people living in communities experience community building policies?*
>
> *In what ways do community members participate in the creation and maintenance of their communities?*
>
> *What is a successful community as defined by members?*
>
> *How can any gaps between experience and policy be addressed?*

12.1.1. How are successful communities conceived of in community building policies?

Answering the first question required a critical analysis of the Sustainable Communities Policy, as discussed in Chapter 4**.** The main points of the critique are summarised here.

My study concludes that despite the SCP being presented as a “step change” in the provision of housing and in raising the quality of life of communities (ODPM 2003 p. 7), in many ways it has fallen short of realising the aspirations contained therein. Some of these challenges in realising the wide range of aspirations in the SCP arise because the aims in the plan are “irreconcilable” (Brownill and Carpenter 2009 p. 270). For example, as Raco argues, the attempt to combine economic, environmental and social goals, focusing on inclusion and justice, is at odds with its market orientation which aims to maximise development capacities with little regard for these (Raco 2005 p. 330). The impact of ‘austerity localism’ has exacerbated some of these tensions with less focus on creating and “developing communities”

and a narrower focus on housebuilding, where the drive for cost-effectiveness triumphs (Deas and Doyle 2013 p. 376). There is a lack of clarity in how some of the aims are defined or how they may be achieved in practice, for example, “quality of jobs” or “right balance” and for whom these are achieved (Brownill and Carpenter 2009 p. 266). Participation of communities is a common theme underpinning achievement of many of the Sustainable Communities Plan’s aims, yet these fail to extend beyond the narrow pool of “usual suspects” or in ways outside the scope of established ways of participating, for example, via various parish council activities (Bradley and Haigh 2016 pp. 311-320). There remain gaps between rhetoric and reality with regard to community participation and engagement (Brownill and Carpenter 2009 p. 268). Within the context of policy and political changes with the introduction of Localism, participation remains a widely promoted aim, although along with it, expectations of communities doing more, with much less (Dagdeviren, Donohue and Wearmouth 2014; Jupp 2020).

12.1.2. How do people living in communities experience community building policies?

In answer to my second research question my participants’ experiences bore some similarities to some of the criticisms outlined above. Overall, my participants experienced community building policies as a series of expectations, which were variously confirmed, disconfirmed or left in a state of ambiguity. Analysis of participants’ expectations through an application of the expectations-disconfirmation literature, found that participants held a collection of expectations in relation to the constituent parts of their communities. Only some of these expectations needed to be confirmed in order for participants to see their communities as successful, although they were mitigated by the provision of information in order to manage them. Participants perceived their communities as successful *as a whole* even when dissatisfied with constituent parts. My findings contradict the expectations-disconfirmation literature which calls for disaggregation when assessing levels of satisfaction, but support findings by James (2011b; 2016) on the provision of information to manage expectations. This implies that in order to manage expectations, a strategy of providing information should be adopted, with careful consideration of who is providing the information.

The Sustainable Communities Plan component of being well run with effective and inclusive participation, representation and leadership, requires partnerships that

lead by example and which “enable inclusive, active and effective participation by individuals and organisations” (ODPM 2005 p. 56). Overall, my findings of participants’ experience of leadership and partnership was one of disconnection, lack of clarity and invisibility. While parish councillors perceived themselves as effective and pro-active in their roles, participants either did not mention them or appeared unsure of their roles. Furthermore, participants did not see parish councils as effective in their partnerships with, for example, the developers in contrast to the parish council’s perception of themselves. This finding has implications for the strategy of information provision to manage expectations discussed above, which has tended to favour parish councils as the “first tier of government and primary access point of democracy” in new build communities where they are established (Willet and Cruxton 2019 p. 311). A solution to the lack of visibility, clarity and provision of information could be having a dedicated community worker who is seen as independent of the institutional actors involved in place-making, referred to as a “credible intermediary” (Franklin 2013 cited in Franklin and Marsden 2015 p.14). The community worker should be in place at the outset of the development and located on site to increase visibility and access.

12.1.3. In what ways do community members participate in the creation and maintenance of their communities?

My participants’ experiences of participation varied and featured in their discussions of how they defined successful communities. My overall finding here is that the way in which participation is conceptualised has a critical impact on who is perceived as participating and in what ways. Depending on the view of participation taken, the same person may be categorised as indifferent, enthusiastic, a pioneer or follower, in relation to their participation in place-making activities which contribute to the creation and maintenance of their communities. My study demonstrates that a broader conception of participation is needed which widens the scope of activities that are recognised as contributing to the creation and maintenance of their communities, including activities which take place on social media sites. Furthermore, opportunities for participation need to be flexible enough to adapt to changing needs as development of the community progresses. My findings reflect research from Franklin *et al* who assert that opportunities for participation must be provided in ways that people can integrate with their everyday routines (2011 p. 360). My findings are consistent with recent research which calls for the need for

more flexible participatory models in place-making (Breek, Eshuis and Mommaass 2018; Willet and Cruxton 2019).

12.1.4. What is a successful community as defined by community members?

The ways in which my participants conceived of successful communities were articulated through their expectations, referred to above. My findings here were perhaps unsurprising, with participants' perceptions of a successful community referring to provision of a range of retail and community facilities, typical of the traditional high street, which would meet their needs and the needs of their fellow community members, and places for social interaction. In my participants' expressions of successful communities, there were implicit and explicit desires to see themselves reflected in the constituent parts of their communities, as young professionals, single people, families with children and in ways which they perceived as consistent with their lifestyles. The extent to which my participants saw themselves reflected in their communities was influenced by their perceptions of the built environment, the retail and community facilities, and diversity of housing. My findings here reveal that my participants' perceptions were structured by a narrative of social class, which impacted on their social interactions in their communities, resulting in avoidance and disengagement from their local facilities. These strategies of avoidance and disengagement, referred to as selective and elective belong, have been found in other research (Savage *et al* 2005; Atkinson 2006; Watt 2009; Athurson 2013). These class-based practices are said to result in reproducing existing inequalities, delegitimise working class identities and contribute to the exclusion of working classes in place-making (Paton 2010; Jefferey 2018). These other studies offer little by way of solution, rather they suggest further research is needed and Watt questions the efficacy of challenging sociospatial segregation through social mixing strategies and housing mix (Watt 2009). Tunstall and Pleace suggest a closer alignment is needed between the perceptions of policymakers', the public and media accounts of social housing and its generally positive reality, although they do not explain how this might happen (Tunstall and Pleace 2018). Indeed, addressing what appear to be complex processes informed by apparently entrenched attitudes requires a more thorough investigation than is possible in this thesis. My findings here can offer only a partial account, in that my sample was dominated by those from owner-occupied tenures. Therefore, the *impact* of disaffiliation practices of the middle classes on the working classes

described above, could not be verified by my findings. This is discussed further in the limitations section. However, the concern for s/elective belonging remains an area in need of further research, especially in view of its impact on achieving balanced and inclusive communities as aspired to in the Sustainable Communities Plan. The final research question on addressing gaps between policy aspirations and lived experience will now be discussed which requires a turn to a discussion of policy implications.

12.2. Key Policy Recommendations

Policy implications have been discussed in detail in the previous chapter, therefore a brief outline of the key recommendations for policy is offered here. The data from my participants indicates that a wider view of participation is needed in order to achieve the Sustainable Communities Plan's aspirations of effective community engagement and inclusion. This wider view of participation should take into account the full range of participatory activities in which people engage, including the informal small gestures of sociality and the ways in which people use social media platforms to engage in place-making activities. Doing so requires promoting a greater awareness of the impact of such activities among place-making professionals and the community members who engage in them. Opportunities for participation must be flexible enough to adapt with the changing needs of community members as the development progresses. Careful consideration needs to be given to the way in which place offerings are packaged and communicated to residents to ensure a wide appeal to a diverse range of people. Community identity, the brand and image of the community, must be multifaceted in order to enable people to identify with it and accommodate people across the life stages as indicated in the Sustainable Communities Plan. A clear communication strategy is needed from the outset of developments in which key information concerning progress can be provided in order to assist in the management of expectations and which shows clearly the roles of the institutional actors involved and lines of accountability. This could contribute to achieving the aspirations of accountable governance systems, informed and effective partnerships and effective community engagement. These activities could be undertaken by a dedicated community worker, who should be in place at the outset of the development and located on site.

A community centre was seen as an integral feature of successful communities by my participants. A community centre can provide a place for social interaction,

contribute to community cohesion, and could act as an anchor for community workers in implementing the communication strategy outlined above. However, careful consideration needs to be given to the image in which it is cast to ensure it is seen as a resource for *all* members of the community not just those perceived of as "in need". Provision of a community centre should be done as early as possible in the development. This is likely to be a rather contentious view as provision of such community facilities often come through S106 agreements and at certain trigger points related to numbers of properties occupied. It may be that the ways in which these trigger points operate need to be reviewed along with the ways in which S106 provisions are agreed. These are likely to be affected by austerity and the drive for cost-effectiveness. Discussion shall now turn to the limitations of my study, followed by my contributions to knowledge and directions for further research.

12.3. Limitations

As with any study, there are limitations to my study. The main limitation to my study was the lack of participants from social rented tenures. I was not aiming for a representative sample and indeed that is it not commonly the aim of qualitative research. Rather, sampling in qualitative research is purposive, in that it looks for participants who can provide insight into the topic under study with the aim of generating in-depth understanding (Bryman 2012 p. 418; Braun and Clarke 2013). My sample was dominated by participants who were owner-occupiers, as indicated in the participant information table in Chapter 7**.** This may have been in part due to my use of snowball sampling where participants may have suggested people they perceived as like themselves as suitable. It is, of course, possible that the experiences people from social rented tenures would have been different to those participants from owner-occupied tenures, given the extent of research which points to the stigma and exclusion experienced by tenants of social housing and widespread negative perceptions (Atkinson 2006; Watt 2009; Athurson 2013; Tunstall and Pleace 2018) referred to in the previous section. Subsequent attempts to recruit participants from social rented tenures through requests on the Facebook groups and through two participants who were known to me. One of my participants was able to suggest another potential participant but upon contact the person declined to take part.

Similarly, my sample of participants were ethnically homogenous, with only one participant from a minority ethnic background. Only two of my participants made

reference to the ethnic composition of their communities, both of which did so in relation to stating that their community was comprised of different ethnic groups. It could be, as Somerville noted, that mix along lines of ethnicity were not perceived as problematic and therefore not discussed (JRF 2008 in Somerville 2016 p. 16). Both these participant limitations are areas which require further research, as discussed below. Despite these limitations, I was still able to gain access to "information-rich" participants which enabled sufficient data to adequately answer my research questions (Miles and Huberman 1994 p. 28).

12.4. Contributions to knowledge

There are several strengths to this study from which important contributions to knowledge are made. One strength of my study comes from the value of gaining the perspectives of community members themselves on how they conceive and 'make' community which addresses gaps in the literature. This is a perspective that has been lacking in the literature, leading to an incomplete account of how community is made and experienced (Wallace 2010) particularly in new-build communities such as those of the participants in my study (Doering 2014; Lewis 2016). By foregrounding the lived experiences of my participants, tensions/contradictions/ discrepancies were revealed between the ways in which both community and place are theorised in the literature and the ways in which community members themselves conceive it and contribute to its creation and maintenance. My participants saw their place and community as something which would reach a state of completion; an end product to be realised. This view is in contrast to much of the literature in which place and community are viewed as dynamic, ever-changing, never finished products (Delanty 2003; Kuecker, Mulligan and Nadarajah 2010; Franklin *et al* 2011; Cresswwell 2015). My study therefore contributes to bridging the gaps between theorising on community and place, and its practical enactment in the world which is grounded in the realities of people's everyday lives, thus building on knowledge in these fields.

This study makes a contribution to knowledge in the field of expectations research. Expectations research has largely been deployed in studies of consumer satisfaction and more recently in relation to satisfaction with public services (Oliver 1980; Van Ryzin 2004, 2017; James 2009, James 2011a, 2011b, 2016). The expectations research field is dominated by the artificial environments of experimental and survey designs. The expectations literature has not been applied

in the context of building new communities. Therefore, my application of this literature represents a novel use in the context of building new communities, which can be viewed as a hybrid of public service and commercial entities. My study yields insights into the ways in which expectations are perceived to be confirmed or disconfirmed or left in a state of ambiguity. In contrast to the expectations literature which suggests a disaggregation of parts in assessing satisfaction, my study found that expressions of satisfaction came from an evaluation of community *as a whole*, not a simple aggregation of its parts. Participants held a collection of expectations related to the constituent parts of their community, only some of which had to be confirmed in order to express satisfaction with their communities and see them as successful. Participants' use of information as a strategy to manage their expectations also refuted some of the findings of the expectations literature, in that the source of information was seen as both unpopular and yet credible among participants. My study implies that the ways in which expectations work in the real world are more complex than the artificial conditions in which the expectancy-disconfirmation models have been tested, allow for. Therefore, my study makes an important contribution to knowledge in the field of expectations research and may also provide insight for the literature on place-making on the strategies people employ in order to avoid seeing their communities as 'failed-places' (Cresswell 2015).

Deficiencies in the way that participation is conceived are highlighted in this study, which has implications for the ways in which it is utilised in place-making strategies and the creation and maintenance of community. Participation is a critical concept in many fields of study, such as place-making, community theorising and development and policy studies, among others. As such, my findings here have relevance across different disciplines. This study demonstrates that opportunities for participation in place-making in new communities and the modes of participation promoted in policy are insufficient for the myriad of ways in which people wish to participate. The ways in which people participate in place-making and community-building are not adequately reflected in the research or in policy not flexible enough to meet changing needs. Rather policy and research tends to favour well-established modes of participation, such as parish council roles or other formally organised activities such as volunteering or membership to community groups. Such an approach offers a limited view of participation which fails to acknowledge other forms of participation and therefore recognise the impact on building community and engendering belonging and attachment. This study demonstrates

that when the scope of participation is reconceptualised, a wider range of people and activities are captured which contribute to place-making and community building and engendering belonging and attachment. The study also demonstrates that participatory needs change as the development of the place progresses. When conceived in a different way, people and their activities can shift from being viewed as indifferent to that of enthusiast or pioneer. Therefore, my study makes both theoretical and practical contributions to knowledge on how participation is theorised and how opportunities for participation are structured in practice.

The strengths and limitations of my study, as well as the contributions to knowledge outlined above, point to opportunities for further research, to which discussion shall now turn.

12.5. Further Research

The previous sections outline the strengths and limitations of my study. While my study makes contributions to knowledge and policy recommendations, it has also identified areas for further research.

My study could be further developed by addressing the limitations which relate to the housing tenure and ethnicity of my sample of participants. Expanding the research to examine the experiences of those from social rented tenure in mixed communities could shed light on the extent to which the practices of disaffiliation and s/elective belonging impacted on those from social rented tenures in their place-making activities. Similarly, a more ethnically diverse sample could examine the ways in which those from different minority ethnic backgrounds experience participation in place-making and community building. Both avenues of research have implications for community building policies which aim to achieve mixed communities in relation to housing tenure and ethnicity.

Given the new application of the expectations literature in the context of building new communities in my study, further research could be undertaken in subsequent new-build communities to see if similar results are found. Doing so could expand understanding and knowledge of how people form their expectations of new communities and how to effectively manage these in order to achieve successful communities, from the perspective of community members. Of particular interest is the ways in which neighbourhood community centres could play a role in creating successful communities, as places of social interaction and as anchors for

community workers who may facilitate place-making and community-building. While several participants saw a community centre as an essential feature of a successful community, none reported using the centres. This represents an interesting paradox worthy of further investigation, especially in light of the provision of multi-story, multi-use centres in new build communities (for example Clay Farm Centre, Trumpington; and Northstowe.com) and in the context of planned growth in the Cambridgeshire region and the South-East more widely.

In relation to place-making more generally and the ways in which people participate, an investigation into the use of social media could identify ways in which such use could be harnessed to further facilitate community engagement. My participants used social media to contribute their community's identity, defend its reputation and develop their social networks. Such an investigation could also contribute to a reorientation of thinking about participation in community and place-making activities.

Finally, some participants offer interesting opportunities for follow-up research. The participants who were to be part of a cohousing group adjacent to Orchard Park were seeking to create a very specific kind of community, predicated on shared ideals of reciprocity, mutuality and sustainability and in which sociality was embedded in space. Of interest here is the extent to which these participants' aspiration of their ideal community, has been realised. Further participants who would be of interest to revisit, are those who expressed no attachment to their place. A follow up could entail an investigation to see if through the passage of time or "milestone moments" have since engendered an attachment to place. Such research would be a welcome addition to the literature on cohousing communities and on place attachment.

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14. Appendix 1 Participant Information and Consent Forms

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Section A: The Research Project

Title: Creating Successful Communities

This research is concerned with exploring what constitutes a 'successful' or 'good' community and why discrepancies in perceptions of success occur. Previous research suggests that the views of those involved in creating communities such as policy makers, planners, developers, differ to those of community members on what a good or successful community looks like. This research aims to look at how perceptions of 'successful' communities are arrived at by community members and policymakers to see where any discrepancies exist and if they can be reconciled. This research is particularly relevant given the extent of growth planned within the Cambridgeshire region specifically and across England over the next 10-20 years. It is hoped the results of this research can inform community building in the Cambridgeshire region by carrying out interviews with people living and working in the area.

This research is organised and funded as part of a PhD study at the Faculty of Health, Social Care and Education, Anglia Ruskin University by Marina Bush.

Contact details:

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Section B: Your Participation in the Research Project

I would like to speak to people living or working in one of the case study areas. You have been invited to take part in an interview because you live or work in the research area. Participants will be asked their opinions on what they think makes a successful community. You are not obligated to participate and if you do agree to participate, you can change your mind at any time during the research project and withdraw from the research without penalty. The interviews will be digitally recorded and the information you have provided will still be used unless you specify otherwise. Details on how to withdraw are included on the Participant Consent Form. If you do agree to participate, any information you provide will be anonymised and will not be connected to you as an individual, meaning you will not be personally identifiable. Notes will be stored on a University laptop computer which is not shared and is accessed by personal login. All files created will be password protected.

It is likely that the information you provide will be used in publications and the dissemination of the research, including direct quotes. All identifying information relating to participants will be removed prior to dissemination to minimise the risk of connecting information with individuals.

It is unlikely that the topics being discussed will cause participants distress or discomfort or result in disclosures. However, should this happen, participants will be referred to relevant services as appropriate. Agreement to participate in this research should not compromise your legal rights should something go wrong.

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS TO KEEP,

TOGETHER WITH A COPY OF YOUR CONSENT FORM

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

NAME OF PARTICIPANT:

Title of the project: Creating Successful Communities

Main investigator and contact details:

Marina Bush

Email: marina.bush@anglia.ac.uk

Tel: 0845 196 2559

If you have any concerns about this research, please contact:

Supervisory Team:

Dr. Sarah Burch – sarah.burch@anglia.ac.uk

Dr. Paul Sanderson – paul.sanderson@anglia.ac.uk

1. I agree to take part in the above research. I have read the Participant Information Sheet for the study. I understand what my role will be in this research, and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

2. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research at any time, for any reason and without prejudice.

3. I understand that interviews will be recorded.

4. I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded.

5. I am free to ask any questions at any time before and during the study.

6. I have been provided with a copy of this form and the Participant Information Sheet.

Data Protection: I agree to the University[4] processing personal data which I have supplied. I agree to the processing of such data for any purposes connected with the Research Project as outlined to me*

Name of participant (print)……..Signed……..….Date……

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS FORM TO KEEP

If you wish to withdraw from the research, please complete the form below and return to the main investigator named above.

Title of Project: Creating Successful Communities

I WISH TO WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY AND YOU MAY/MAY NOT **(delete as appropriate)** CONTINUE TO USE THE INFORMATION I HAVE PROVIDED TO DATE

Signed: _____ Date: _____

[4] "The University" includes Anglia Ruskin University and its partner colleges